



THE LIFE AND RAIGNE
OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

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D^r of Lawe.

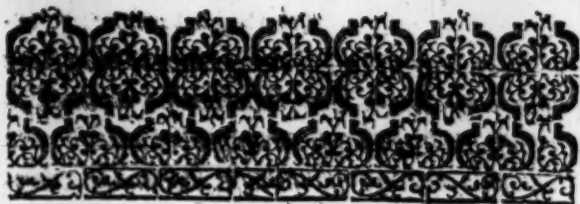
London

Printed for Iohn Partridge, and are to be
sold at the signe of the Sunne in
Pauls Churchyard.

MAIESTY

POWER





Courteous Reader,

His noble Prince, whose Storie is here deliuered, seemes to haue had the same aduersitie of fortune in his life and death, which he had at his birth. For as he was destituted of the helpes of nature at his entrance, and was faine to haue his way made into the world with a knife ; so in his life was there continuall imployment of either Sword or Axe ; of that, either at home against his Rebels, or against his enemies abroad ; of this, vpon his Nobles, and particularly vpon his owne vncles by the mothers side ; of which the Duke of Somerset's case is very remarkable. As his birth was violent, and his reigne troublesome, so was his death pramature, & not without suspicion of some practice ;

To the Reader.

practice; of which, (besides vulgar rumour,) Cardan in calculating his scheme, seemes to haue some iudicious coniecture. For whether he diuined it by his art in Astrology, or apprehended it by the course and carriage of businesse, hee made a dangerous prediction: when hee foresaw, that the King should shortly dye a violent death, and (as he reporteth) fled out of the kingdome, for feare of further danger. Howsoeuer, he was as noble a branch as euer sprung out of the Royall stocke, worthy (if so it had seemed good to God) of a more fauourable birth, a quieter reigne, and a longer life. But as the notable accidents in his tumultuous times doe deserue to be recorded; so doth the King himselfe for his sweet condition, for his minde as innocent as his yeares, for his rare endowments well deserue to be commended to euermore lasting memory; that he may bee permanent so much the longer in the life of an history, by how much the threed of his naturall life was cut shorter by the Fates. And indeed as he had the birth of Cæsar, so had hee beene worthy to haue had the fortune and fame of Cæsar; but a better conclusion. This history is left vs from the pen of a worthy Author, of whom we haue another essay in Henry the fourth. This comes out into the world
after

To the Reader.

*after the death of the father; a Posthumus, and is
not like to finde any Patron, but the love and affe-
ction of thee, (favourable Reader) to which I
commend it, and thee to God.*

Abstract of



FLY FROM EVIL DOE GOOD

Printed by J. Smith at the Press of the University of Cambridge



THE
LIFE AND
RAIGNE OF
K. EDVWARD
THE SIXTH.



EDWARD K. of *England* the sixth of that name of the *Norman Race*, was borne at *Hampton court* the 17 of October 1537. 1537 being the only surviving sonne of K. *Henry* the 8. by *Iane* his third wife, daughter to S^r *John Seymer Knight*. And becaule K. *Henry*

did take her to wife, after the death of *Katherine* his first wife, from whom he had beene divorced, no question nor conceit was cast, but that this Issue betwene them had right to succcede.

All reports do constantly runne, that he was not by naturall passage delivered into the world, but that his mothers body was opened for his birth, and that shee dyed of the incision the fourth day following. After which sort men brought

A

forth,

Plin. lib. 7.
cap. 9.
Plin. 16.
Fest. lib. 3.
Solin. ca. 4.
rer. mem.
Prob. in
epit. l. 10.
Valerij.
Liv. dec. 1.
lib. 2.
Sil. Ital. lib.
13.
Hermo.
in castig.
Plin. loco
cod.

forth, were by the ancient *Romanes* esteemed fortunate; and commonly proved great enterprisers with happy successe. For so *Plinie* writeth: *Auspiciatus enest a matre nascuntur, sicut Scipio Africanus prior natus*. These were called *Casones* and afterwards *Casares* as *Plinie*, *Festus Pompeius*, *Solinus* and *Tirius Probus* affirme. *Quia caso matris utero in lucem prodissent*.

In this maner was *Caso Fabius borne*, whom *Livy* reporteth to haue beene thrice *Consull*; first with *Lucius Amilius*, next with *Sp. Furius*, and thirdly with *T. Virginius*. Thus also was *Scipio borne*, who by reason of his braue atchieuements in *Africke*, was surnamed, *Scipio Africanus prior*. But in that *Plinie* affirmeth, that he was the first who was called *Cesar*, a *caso matris utero*, he seemeth to haue made a slippe. For before him and somewhat before the warres with the *Samnites*, one *Claudius* was surnamed *Cesar*, because he was in that fashion brought into the world.

In a nient times these births were esteemed sacred to *Apollo*, as *Servius* noteth out of these words in *Virgill*.

*Inde Lychem ferit exectum cum matre perempta,
& tibi Phoebe sacrum.*

And therefore *Esculapius* because he was ripped from his mothers wombe, was feigned to be the sonne of *Apollo*; as *Servius* vpon another place of *Virgill* hath observed. For this cause also in the ancient state of *Rome*, things consecrated to *Apollo*, were kept by the familie of the *Casars*. That *Julius Caesar* was so borne it is an vncontrouled Report. But that he was the first of the familie of *Casars*, who was so either named or borne. It is a thicke mistie error supported chiefly by some men of excellent iudgement in their owne professions, but childishly vnskillfull in anything besides. *Plinie* writeth that his Father was surnamed *Cesar*; who having borne the office of *Prator*, determined his life by suddaine death.

What would haue beene either the fortunes or endeavours of *K. EDWARD* he never attained to yeares of prooffe. Assuredly both for the time of his age and raigne, he is rather

to bee admired then commended, whereby he raised an high expectation for times to ensue. In one point hee was like the like borne *Iulius Caesar*. For as *Caesar* in the midst of his greatest actions, wrote an exact and curious Commentary of all his notable enterprises by Armes. So this *Edward* during all the time of his Raigne, but most especially towards the end, kept a most iudicious Iournall of all the most principall passages of the affaires of his estate. These memorialls written with K. *Edwards* hand (which now shall be the ground of this historie) were imparted vnto me by the great *Treasurer* of English antiquities, *S. Robert Cotton Knight Baronet*, who as he hath bene a most industrious, both collector and conseruer of choice peeces in that kinde, so is he most ingenuously free, to communicate the vse of them to others.

This young *Prince* was brought vp among nurses, vntill he arriued to the age of sixe yeares, when he had passed this weake and sappie age, he was committed to D^r *Coxe*, who after was his Almoner, & M. *John Cheeke* men of meane birth, But so well esteemed for virtue and learning by reason of the place of their employment that they might well be said to be borne of themselves. These having equall authority for instruction of the young *Prince* and well agreeing bare equall stroake in diuers faculties. D^r *Coxe* for knowledge of *Divinity*, *Philosophy* and gravitie of manners; M^r *Cheeke* for eloquence in the *Latine* and *Greeke* tongues. But for other sufficiencies (so farre as it appeares by the bookes which hee wrote) Pedantique enough. Others also were appointed to acquaint him with the vse of the most respected forraigne languages, all iointly endeavouring to infuse into him knowledge and vertue by some mixture of honest delight.

Vnder these teachers the *Prince* thrived so well that in short time he spake the *French* tongue perfectly. In the *Latine* tongue he could declaime vpon the suddaine no lesse both readily and purely then many who were reputed amongst

mongst the most learned of these times. He attained not only commendable knowledge but speech in the *Greeke, Spanish* and *Italian* languages: having alwaies great judgment in measuring his words by his matter: his speech being alike both fluent and weightie, such as best becomed a Prince, as for naturall *Philosophie*, for *Logicke*, *Musicke*, *Astronomie*, and other liberall sciences his perfections were such that the great *Italian* Philosopher *Cardane*, having tasted him by many conferences and finding him most strongly to encounter his new devised paradoxes in *Philosophie*, seemed to be astonished betweene admiration and delight, and divulged his abilities to be miraculous. These his acquirements by industrie were exceedingly both enriched and enlarged by many excellent endowments of nature. For in disposition he was milde, gracious and pleasant of an heavenly wit, in body beautifull, but especially in his eies, which seemed to haue a starrie liuelynes and lustre in them, generally hee seemed to be as *Cardane* reported of him A MIRACLE OF NATURE.

When he was a few moneths aboue nine yeeres of his age, great preparation was made either for creating or for declaring him to be *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Cornewall*, and *Count Palatine of Chester*. In the middest whereof *K. Henry* his Father ended his life of a dropsie accompanied with a spreading scarre of his thigh. Herevpon *Edward Earle of Hartford* and *S^r Anthony Browne* knights of the order and *Master* of the horse were forthwith dispatched by the residue of the counsaile, to the young *King* then lying at *Hartford*. These came vnto him and the next day brought him to *Enfield*, neither with preparation nor traine any more then ordinarie. Here they first declared vnto him and to the *Lady Elizabeth* his sister, the death of *K. Henry* their father. Vpon which tidings they both brake forth into such vnforced and vnfeined passions, as it plainly appeared that good nature did worke in them, beyond all other respects. Never was sorrow more sweetly set forth, their faces seeming rather

ther to beautifie their sorrow, then their sorrow to clowde the beautie of their faces. Their young yeares their excellent beauties, their louely and lively enterchange of complaints in such sort graced their grieve: as the most yron eies at that time present were drawne thereby into societie of their Teares.

The next day following being the last of *Ianuarie* the young king advanced towards *London*. The Earle of *Hartford* riding next before him and *S^r Anthony Browne* behind. The same day he was proclaimed King and his lodging was prepared within the *Tower*. He there was received by the *Constable* and *Lieutenant* on horse backe without the gates, and vpon the bridge next the Ward-gate by all the chiefe *Lords* for his counsaile. These attended him to his chamber of presence and there swaie allegiance vnto him.

Here he remained about three weekes, and in the meane time the counsaile appointed vnto him by his *Fathers* will dayly sate for ordering the affaires of the Kingdome. Among these the Earle of *Hartford* was elected and forthwith proclaimed protector of the *Realme*, and governour of the kings person vntill he should accomplish the age of eightene yeares. To this office he was deemed most fit, for that he was the kings vnckle by the Mothers side, very neere vnto him in blood, but yet of no capacitie to succcede; by reason whereof his naturall affection and durie was lesse easie to be over-carried by Ambition. A few daies after the Lord Protector knighted the king within the *Tower*, and immediately the king stood vp vnder his cloath of estate, tooke the sword from the Lord Protector and dubbed the Lord Maior of *London* knight. Here hence ensued diverse other advancements in honour. For *S^r Edward Seymer* Lord Protector and Earle of *Hartford*, was created *Duke of Somerset*. The Lord *William Parre* Earle of *Essex* was proclaimed *Marquis of Northampton*. *S^r Thomas Seymer* the kings vnckle was made Lord of *Sudley* and high Admirall of *England*. *S^r Richard Rich* was made Lord *Rich*. *S^r William Willoughby*

by Lord Willoughby of Parreham, and Sir Edmund Sheffield, Lord Sheffield of Buterwike. And because high titles of honour were in that time of the Kings minority sparingly granted because dignity then waited vpon desert, which caused it againe to be waited on by respect, every of these testified for others, that it was the pleasure of the Kings Father before his death, that these titles should thus bee conferred.

During this time the body of King Henrie was with honorable solemnities conveyed from London to Sheene and thence to Windsor and there buried within the Colledge. All his officers brake their staues and threw them into the graue, but at their returne to the tower, new staues were delivered vnto them, this solemnitie being finished the King vpon the nineteenth of Febr. 1547. rode in great state from the Tower to the Palace of Westminster, and the day following was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury assisted with other Bishops and all the chiefe nobilitie of the Realme. About the twenty-ninth yeere of the Empire of Charles the fifth and the 33 of the Raigne of Francis the first of France and in the fifth yeere both of the raigne and age of Marie Queene of Scotland.

The same day a generall pardon was granted to all persons as it hath beene vsuall at coronations. But by some envious oppositions or for some other causes vnknowne fixe onlie were excepted. The Duke of Northfolke, Cardinall Poole, Edward le Courtney eldest sonne to the Marquesse of Excester, Doctor Pates, Master Fortescue and Master Throgmorton. But they overliued that envie and had their pardons afterwards in the first yeere of the Raigne of Queene Marie. A few daies after the Earle of Southampton Lord Chancellor of England, for being opinatiue (as it was reported, and obstinately opposite to the rest of the Lords in matters of counsaile, was removed both from his office of being Chancellor, and from his place and authoritie in counsaile, and the great scale was delivered to Sir William Pawlet, Lord St Iohn, who

was

was Lord great Master of the *Kings* household. But this wound of disgrace never left bleeding, vntill it was stopped by the *Protectors* fall.

It is certaine that from the first entrance of this *King*, to his raigne never was *King* either more loving to others, or better beloved generally of all. The one whereof proceeded from the goodnes of his disposition, the other from many graces and vertues illustrious in him, for besides his excellent beauty and modestie becomming a *Prince*, besides his sweet humanity the very life of mortall condition, besides a naturall disposition to all literature, whereto he seemed rather borne then instructed, many noble and high vertues sparkled in him, especially *Clemencie, Courage, Care, and knowledge* in affaires of *state*.

To *Clemencie* he was much enclined, especially in matters of blood, and most especially if it were for Religion, a vertue so much the more esteemed, by how much it had beene lesse vsed before, insonmuch that albeit hee was most earnestly affected to that religion wherein hee had beene brought vp, yet none were executed in his time for other religion, but only two blasphemous *Heretickes*, *Ioane Butcher* and *George a Dutchman*.

And when *Ioane Butcher* was to be burned, all the counsaile could not procure him to set his hand to the warrant. Wherefore they employed *Thomas Cranmer Archbishop* of *Canterbury* to deale privatly with him for his subscription. But the *King* remained firme both in reason and resolution, affirming that he would not driue her headlong to the *Direll*, but because *Heretickes* for the most part haue a straine of madnesse, he thought it best to apply her with some corporall chastisements which with respite of time might happily reduce her to good order. The *Archbishop* was violent both by perswasions and entreaties, and when with meere importunity he had preuailed, The *King* in subscribing his name said, that he would lay all the charge thereof vpon the *Archbishop* before God. Not many yeares passed, but this

Arch-

Archbishop also felt the smart of the fire, and it may be that by his importunity for blood, hee did offend, for a good thing is not good if it be immoderatelie desired or done.

His courage did appeare in the great delight he tooke in representations of Battailles, Skirmishes, Assaults, and of all kinde of military exercises, his iudgment was great either for errors or fine contriuances in the field. And no actions of Armes were executed in his time, but he would perfectly vnderstand, by what aduantages on the one side or ouersights on the other the euent succeeded. He tooke great pleasure in exercises of actiuity whereto he much trained his ser-vants. And to that end he often appointed challenges among them for wrestling, leaping, running, riding, shooting at roues, and at rounds and such like games, and at riding and shooting, would sometimes be of one of the sides. He had 100 archers of his ordinary guard, who once mustering before him shot two arrowes euery man together against an inch board of well seasoned timber. All stroke through the board, and their arrowes stucke in another board behind, and diuers pierced both the boards; generally none might be of his guard, but besides of tall and comely stature, such as were either good archers or wrastrs or casters of the barre or leapers or runners or of some other man-like qualitie. He was exceeding skilfull in fortifications, and bestowed great cost in strengthening *Calleis*, *Berwicke*, and other parts there-about, He knew all the principall ports in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *France*, and other countries not farre distant, how they lay, when the tyde served, what vessels of burthen they could receiue and what windes served for entrance.

Touching his care and knowledge in affaires of state, nothing was more conspicuous in him. He was much conversant amongst his counsaile, and would well vnderstand what matters passed their iudgments, and vpon what grounds. In matters discoursed by them, he would often encounter their reasons, and adde most liuely reasons of his owne. In

so much that at last they made an order that no matters of weight, should be debated vnlesse he were present. Admirable he was to collect the speeches and opinions of many, and to draw their differences to a true head, alwaies bending himselfe rather iudiciously to resolute, then by doubts and distinctions to perplex a businesse, he had a chest whereof he alwaies carryed the key about him, for keeping record of such matters as were concluded by his counsaile. And embracing businesse for part of his solace, hee appointed set times with *Doctor Cox* Master of his Requests for speeding poore mens causes without tedious attendance or delay. Of all the Magistrates Iustices and Gentlemen of sort within his realme, he knew by their names, their housekeeping, their religion and manner of life. Hee was skilfull in the exchange beyond the seas, and in all the circumstances and practises thereof. And so was he both skilfull and provident in matters of the Mint at home. To *Embassadors* hee would giue answer vpon the suddaine and touch both orderly and fully vpon every part of their orations, to the delight and admiration of all the hearers. He much frequented sermons and penned notes with his owne hand, his notes hee cyphered with *greeke* characters to the end that they who waited on him should not read them. His disports were ingenuous and man-like whereby he alwaies learned somewhat. And yet as well from these as from his businesse of state, he dayly reserved some houres for his private studies and exercises with his Teachers. These endeavours fell vpon so excellent a capacitie that in every short distance of time, he made incredible increase both in learning and experience of affaires and consequentlie in loue of all men.

Presently after that he was settled in his gouernement, *D^r Wotton* the kings *Embassador* resident with the *Queene Dowager of Hungarie*, regent of the *Low Countries* vnder the *Emperor* was discharged of that attendance and addressed to the *Emperors court*, there to reside *Embassador* for the king instead of *Doctor Bonner Bishop of London*, and of *Sir Fran-*

Some
 is Bryan who were called home. He was furnished with instructions that being first informed from the former *Embassadors* as wel of the general state of the *Emperours* court as of such particuler intelligēces as might serue to advāce the *kings* intentiōs he should deale with the *Emperor* to declare al *Scots* for his enemies, except such as should be friends to the *King*, which should appeare by his safe conduct. That because it had bin agreed betweene the *Emperor* and the late *K. of England*, that the yeare next ensuing they should withioyne forces, invade the *Territories* of the *French King*, he should moue the *Emperor* to aduise of some order and sonne for those proceedings. That whereas the *Duke of Lorraine* had bin late before at the *Emperors* court, and made for *ouverture* for peace or truce, betweene the *Emperour* and the *French King*, he should be informed by *Se Francis Bryan* of the whole estate of that businesse and awaite opportunity to put the *Emperor* in remembrance, that it had beene couenanted betweene him and the *King of England*, that neither of them should treat of peace or truce with the *French King*, or any other common enemy without consent of the other, and that the *King of England* had well obserued that article in refusing to giue eare to the *French embassador* making overture for such a treatise, That whereas it had beene agreed betweene him and the *King of England*, that either of them should send certaine ships to sea well manned and apparelled for fight, which all that yeere had beene performed by the *king*, whereas the *Emperour* shifted the default vpon his officers, in case he should not cause the said *Navy* to be forthwith furnished, he should awaite occasion to sollicite the same. Lastly that he should carry a nimble eare as well touching any variation in all these matters, as for other occurrences in *France*, *Spaine*, *Italie*, *Almaine*, and thereof advertise the *king*.

But notwithstanding all these cautions and preventions of peace, or truce betweene the *Emperour* and the *French*, the *king of England* finding the *Emperour* slow in his performances

of K. Edward the sixth.

II

ces and much suspecting his secret ends entertained a treatie of peace with *France*, but secretly and a farre off, and to bee governed as occasions should vary, and in regard hereof agreement was made, that all ships and goods which had bin surpris'd at sea by the *English* vpon the *French*, or by the *French* vpon the *English* since the beginning of that treatie should be freely discharged. And albeit the *English* had great aduantage in value of reprisalls, as being alwaies both more strong and actiue at sea, yet the king by his proclamation commanded that forthwith restitution should be made.

Hostility being thus suspended with *France*, preparati-on was made for warres against *Scotland*, the occasion where-of did thus arise.

MARY STYWARD sole daughter & heire to *James* the 5. King of *Scots* began her raigne ouer the Realme of *Scotland* vpon the 18 of *December* 1542, being then not about 7 daies olde, so as the Sunne no sooner almost saw her an infant then a *Queene* and no sooner was shee a *Queene*, but she was desired of *Henry* then King of *England*, to be assured in marriage to *Prince Edward* his only sonne, being then not much about 6 yeares of age. Vpon this ouerture the gouernor of *Scotland* assembled the nobility of the Realme at *Edenburgh*, where after much debatement of the comodities or discommodities like to ensue, they concluded in the end that in *March* then next ensuing a Parliament should be hold to giue perfection and forme to that businesse.

In the meane time *S. Ralph Sadler knight* was sent embassador from *England* to the *Gouernor* and other *Lords* of *Scotland*, who followed his charge with so good diligence and advice that in the same parliament, authority was giuen to *William Earle of Glancorne*, *S. George Douglass*, *S. William Hamilton*, *S. James Leirmouth knights*, and to one of the secretaries of state; to conclude this marriage. These commissioners came into *England* with whom before the end of *Julie*, the same yeere all covenants were concluded, instruments of the contract of marriage interchangeably sealed and

sworne, and a peace established for ten yeares, which time expired both the *Prince* and the *Queene* should be of age to consent.

The *French King* all this time was so entartined with warres against the *Emperor* that he had no sence of these proceedings, but when he vnderstood that these agreements were passed as well for marriage as for peace he bent his best endeavour to dissolve them both. First with intention to impeach both the greatnesse and strength of the *English* nation; after with desire to winne this marriage for *Francis* who afterwards was *King of France*. To this purpose the *French King* sent for *Mathew Earle of Levenoxe*, who then serued vnder his pay in *Italie* and furnished him with mony, forces, and friends, and aboue all with many encouragements to take vpon him brauely the honour of his house, and Ancestors, to remoue the *Earle of Arraine* from the Regency of *Scotland*, and to reverse such pactions as he had made. The *Earle* at his first arrivall in *Scotland* was ioyfully received, as a man most engaged in domesticall factions, He alwaies vsed curtesie and modestie disliked of none, sometimes sociablenes and fellowship well liked by many, generally he was honoured by his nation and well reputed by strangers, in favour of him the *Pope* sent the *Patriarch of Apulia* his Legat into *Scotland*, who in the *Popes* name did faithfully assure, that both forces & mony should be sent into *Scotland* to resist the *English*. Hee drew the greatest of the Cleargie on his side who were most powerfull to draw on others. On the other side the *king* was not negligent to support his party with supplies, wher by great troubles ensued in *Scotland*, which fell not within the times that I haue in hand.

In the end the *Earle of Arraine* abandoned the *king of England*, and applyed himselfe only to the *French* by reason whereof, the Regencie was confirmed to him which otherwise he had bin vpon adventure to loose. And as the *Earle of Arraine* did forsake the *English* and adioine to the *French*, so the *Earle of Levenoxe*, being forsaken by the *French* applyed his

his service wholly to the *English*, which did not only continue but much encrease the calamities of *Scotland*, during the time of *king Henries* raigne.

King Henrie at the time of his death gave a speciall charge to the Lords of his counsaile, that they should omit no endeavours whereby the said marriage might be procured to take effect, Herevpon they pursued this quarrell in the same state the *king* left it. But before they attempted any thing by Armes, the Lord Protector assailed the *Scottish* nobility with a friendly letter, Herein he remembred them of the promises, oaths, and oathes, which by publike authority had passed for concluding this marriage, that these being religious bonds betwixt God and their soules, could not by any politike act of state be dissolved, vntill their Queene should attaine vnto yeares of dissent. Hee farther added that the providence of God did then manifestly declare it selfe, in that the male princes of *Scotland* failing the kingdome was left to a daughter, and in that *King Henry* left only one sonne to succeed. That these two princes were agreeable both for yeares and princely qualities, to bee ioyned in marriage, and thereby to knit both Realmes into one. That this vnion as it was like to bee both easily done, & of firme continuance, so would it be both profitable and honourable to both the Realmes. That both the easinesse and firmnes might be coniectured, for that both people are of the same language, of like habit and fashion, of like qualitie and condition of life, of one climate, not only annexed entirely together, but severed from all the world besides. For as these are sure arguments that both descended from one originall, and had bin vnder one government, so (by reason that likenes is a great cause of liking and of loue,) they would be most forceable meanes both to ioine and to hold them in one body againe, that the profit would rise by extinguishing warres betwene the two nations, by reason whereof in former times victories abroad haue bin impeached, invasions and seditions occasioned, the confines of both Realmes laid waste or else made a nurserie of rapines, robberies, and murders, the

inner parts often deeply pierced, and made a wretched spectacle to all eyes of humanity and pittie. That the honour of both Realmes would encrease as well in regard of the countries sufficient to furnish not only the necessities but the moderate pleasures of this life: as also of the people great in multitude, in bodies able, assured in minde not only for the safetie, but the glory of their common state. That hereby would follow assurance of defence, strength to enterprize, ease in sustaining publike burthens and charge. That herein the *English* desired no preheminance, but offered equalitie both in liberty and priviledge, and in capacitie of offices and employments, and to that end the name of *Brittaines* should be assumed indifferent to both nations. That this would be the accomplishment of their common felicitie, in case by their evill either destinie or advice they suffered not the occasion to be lost.

The authority and reasons of this letter weighed much with persons of most weighty iudgements, but others more powerful in that state partly vpon vaine hope in regard of the young yeares of the *king*, partly vpon feare of alteration in religion, and partly in favour of their ancient amitie with the *French*, and doubting to be brought vnder by the *English*, were altogether carryed another way, yet they dispatched an Embassador into *England*, but neither was any thing done, neither do I finde what was propounded to haue bin done.

Herevpon diverse hostilities began to be practised. And first a small ship of the *kings* called the *Pensie* hovering at sea, was assailed by the *Lyon* a principall shippe of *Scotland*. The fight began farre off and slow, but when they approached, it grew very furious, wherein the *Pensie* so applied her shot, that therewith the *Lyons* ore loope was broken, her sailes and tacklings torne: and lastly, shee was boarded and taken. But as shee was brought for *England*, shee was cast away by tempest and negligence neere *Harewich* haven, and most of her men perished with her. I would not haue staide vpon this small adventure, but that it seemed a presage to the succeeding warre, wherein the *English* acquired a glorious victorie, but
lost

loft the fruit thereof, by reason of their stormie disorders at home.

Many such small actions were enterprised dayly, which were but scattering drops in regard of the great tempest which did ensue. For in the meane season an armie was prepared for invasion of *Scotland*, vnder the fortune and commande of the *Lord Protector*. The souldiers first assembled at *Newcastle* and were there mustred by the *Earle of Warwicke*. Heere they sojourned three daies in which time the kings fleete arrived, consisting of 65. Bottomes, whereof one galley and 34. tall ships were well appointed for fight, the residue served for carriage of munition and victuals. Of this fleete *Edward Lord Clinton* was *Admirall*, and *Sir William Woodhouse* his *Viceadmirall*, in this time also a generall muster was taken and order appointed for the March.

In the whole armie were betweene 12. and 1300 thousand foot, 1300 men at Armes, 2800 light horse, being such men for their goodly personages, their ready horses their braue apparell, their armour and weapons, as never before was an armie set forth into those parts in all points better appointed. The *Lord Protector* being *Generall*, represented the person and Maiestie of the king. The *Earle of Warwicke* was Lieutenant generall. The *Lord Gray of Wilton* was Marshall of the field, and captaine generall of the horsemen. *Sir Ralph Vane* Lieutenant of all the men at Armes and Dimilances, *Sir Ralph Sadler* was generall Treasurer, other gentlemen had their particuler charges. But vpon the Generall and the *Earle of Warwicke* both the hopes and hazards of the maine adventure did wholly turne. And because much shalbe said of these two hereafter, because during the raigne of *king Edward*, they were the principall actors in every sceane, I will briefly declare both what persons, and of what demerits at that time they were.

Edward Seymer Duke of Somerset, *Lord Generall* was a man little esteemed either for wisedome or personage, or courage in armes. But being in favour with *king Henry* and by him

him much imployed, was alwaies observed to be both faithfull and fortunate as well in giving advise, as in managing a charge. About five yeares before hee being Warden of the Marches against *Scotland*, the invasion of *James* the 5. was by his direction encountred, and broken at *Solome Mosse*, whereof diverse of the *Scottish* nobility were taken prisoners. The yeare next after, hee and the *Earle of Warwicke* with a handfull of men to speake of, fired *Lieth* and *Edenburgh*, and returned by a leasurely march 44 miles through the body of *Scotland*. The yeare next ensuing he invaded the *Scottish* borders, wasted *Tinedale* & the marches and deformed the country with ruine and spoile. The yeare then next following, being appointed to view the fortifications vpon the marches of *Caleis*, he not only did that, but with the hardy approach of 7000 English men raised an armie of 21000 *French*, encamped over the River before *Bulleine*, wanne their ordinance, carriage, treasure and tents, with the losse only of one man, and returned from thence by land to *Gusnes*, wane in his way within shot and rescue of *Arde* the castle of *Ouring*, commonly called the *red pile*. The yeare next ensuing this, he invaded & spoiled *Picardy*, began the forces of *Newhaven*, *Blacknesse* and *Bullingberge*, and so well applied his endeavours, that in a few weekes and before his departure they were made tenible, vpon these and other like successes, his succeeding fortunes were esteemed alwaies rather new, then strange, and his onlie presence was reputed a sufficient surety for an army, and yet did he never rise hereby, either into haughtines in himselfe, or contempt of others, but remained courteous & affable, choosing a course least subiect to envie, betweene stiffe stubbornnes and filthy flattery, never aspiring higher then to be the second person in state.

John Dudley Earle of Warwicke was a man of ancient nobilitie, comely in stature and countenance, but of little gravitie or abstinance in pleasures, yea sometimes almost dissolute, which was not much regarded, if in a time when vices began to grow into fashion, a great man was not over severe. He was
of

of a great spirit and highly aspiring, not forbearing to make any mischief the meanes for attaining his ambitious endes. Hereto his good wit and pleasant speeches were altogether serviceable, having the art also by emptie promises and threats to draw others to his purpose, in matters of armes he was both skilfull and industrious, and as well in fore-sight as resolution present and great. Being made *L. Lieutenant of Bulloine*, when it was first taken by the *English*, the walls sore beaten & shaken, and in very truth scarce maintaineable, he defended the place against the *Dolphine* whose armie was accounted to consist of 52000 men. And when the *Dolphine* had entred the base towne, not without slaughter of divers of the *English*, by a braue sally he cast out the *French* againe with the losse of about 800 of their men esteemed the best souldiours in *France*. The yeare next ensuing when the *French* had a great fleet at sea for invasion of *England*, he was appointed *Admirall* and presented battaile to the *French* Navy, which they refused and returned home with all their threats and cost in vaine. Herevpon he landed 5000 men in *France*, fired *Treperi*, and diverse villages thereabouts & returned to his ships with the losse only of one man. To say truth for enterprises by armes, he was the Minion of that time, so as few things he attempted, but he atchieued with honour, which made him more proud and ambitious when he had done. Generally he alwaies encreased both in estimation with the *king*, and authority among the *Nobility*, doubtfull whether by fatall destinie to the state, or whether by his vertues, or at least by his appearances of vertues.

Now the *Generall* in this voyage was diligent and carefull, and to perfect all practises which might serue to advance the adventure, as to giue good contentment to all the Souldiers. These also were of good confidence and cheere, as well out of their owne courage, as for the skill, valour, and fortune of their commanders. And first every souldier was commanded to take with him provision for foure daies, and so were let out of *Berwicke* and encamped about two flight

shootes off the towne vpon the sea side towarde *Scotland*. The *Lord Clynton* also put to sea with his fleete, alwaies holding his course With the army to relieue them if neede should require. Here proclamation was made in three parts of the field, declaring the causes of this iourney, and offering not only peace, but loue and rewards to all such as would either advance or fauour the marriage betweene the two princes. Hereof it was conceiued that the *Scots* had good intelligence, hauing some factors doubtlesse at this mart, albeit, (as wisdom was) they did not openly trade.

The next day they began to march, wherein the *Lord Gray* and *Sir Francis Bryan* led about 800 lighthorsemen as a scout a mile or two before the army, aswell to giue advertisement of appearance or approach of enimies as to provide lodging both commodious and safe, *S^r Francis Bryan* was so regardfull of his charge as he neuer disposed any matter of weight but first he acquainted the *Generall* therewith, neither did he at any time forsake his saddle, vntill the army were quartered, and seated in such order, as if any alarme should be giuen, the horsemen might issue forth without disturbance of the foote, and the *Avantguard* without shuffling with the battaile or *Arriere*, next to the light horsemen followed the *Auantguard*, in number betweene 3 and 4000 foote, 100 men at armes and 600 light horsemen led by the *Earle of Warwick*. The Battaille followed consisting of about 6000 foote, 600 men at armes, and about 1000 light horsemen conducted, by the *Lord Generall* himselfe. Lastly followed the *Arrier* wherein were betweene 3 and 4000 foote, 100 men at armes and 600 light horse vnder the conduct of the *Lord Dacres* a liuely aged gentleman no lesse settled in experience then in yeares. vpon one wing the Artillery was drawn being 16 peeces, euery peece hauing his guard of pioneers to plain the waies, the other wing was made by men at armes and demulances for the *Avantguard* and halfe the battaile riding a-
bout

bout two flight shoote from their side. The other halfe of the battaile and the whole flank of the Arrier was cloased by the carriages being 900 cartes, besides wagons. The residue of the men at armes and Demilances marched behinde.

In this order both beautifull and firme they marched two daies vsing no hostility, least peace thereby might happily be hindred. The second day they arriued at a place called the *Peathes*, a valley stretching towards the sea 6 miles in length, about 20 score in breadth aboue, and 5 score in the bottome wherein runnes a little riuer. The bankes are so steepe on either side, that the passage is not direct, but by paths leading sloopewise, which being many the Place is therevpon called the *Peathes*. It was giuen forth in the army that here the Scots prepared to resist them, howbeit no forces appeared. Only the Pathes were cut in diuers places with trauerse trenches, which much encumbred the carriages vntill the Pioners had leveled them againe, Assuredly a small power ioyned to the advantage of the place might haue troubled the *English* very much. For albeit no resistance was made yet the *English* had much to doe in surmounting the naturall difficulties of the place, the greatest part of one day.

Passage being made the generall summoned three castles that were neere. One desperate of succor and not desirous to dispute the defence presently yeelded, but two stood vpon their aduenture. So the Cannon was planted a breach made and the place entered, but, then the moderation of the Generall was both vnusuall and vnexpected, in sparing the Defendants liues, for it hath bin a long observed law of the field. That if a small company of better courage then iudgment, will contrary to all military discipline maintaine a feeble place against royall forces, if they will offer to impeach the purposes of an army, which they haue no reason to thinke themselves able to resist, after battery presented they put themselves out of all ordinary expectation of mercy and so

Cæſ. 3.
Gallic.
Conſt. 6.

Cæſar answered the *Aduiatici*, *Ciuitatem conſervaturos*, & priuſquã aries murum attigiffet ſe dediſſent. And ſo the Duke d'Alua much blamed *Proſper Columnus* for receiuing a caſtle vpon conditions after he had beaten it with the Cannon. And in this caſe I conceiue the law of God to be vnderſtood; which ſpareth not thoſe citties that will not yeeld vntill they be beſieged, meaning doubtleſſe when the defendants haue little reaſon to thinke themſelues able to make defence, I will not inuolue in ſilence with what a ſoldaine ſtatagem of wit, the defendants of one of theſe peeces eſcaped extremities, when they vnderſtood both, that they were not able to defend themſelues, and that their obſtinacy had excluded all hope of pardon. They made petition that they might not preſently be ſlaine; but haue ſome time to recommend their ſoules to God, and afterwards be hanged, this reſpite being firſt obtained their pardon did more eaſily enſue.

Deut. 20.

Vpon the firſt newes of the approaches of the *Engliſh* and all truths enlarged by report. The *Gouernor* of *Scotland* was ſomewhat appalled, as neither furniſhed at that time with forraine aide, nor much truſting his forces at home yet reſuming his accuſtomed courage well acquainted with both fortunes, he ſent his heralds through all parts of the realme, and commanded the *firecroſſes* to be carried (an ancient cuſtome in caſes of importance) namely two firebrands ſet in faſhion of a croſſe, and pitched vpon the point of a ſpeare, therewith proclamation to be made that all men aboute 16 yeares of age, and vnder 60 ſhould reſort forthwith to *Muscleborough* with convenient provision of victuals with them.

Herevpon they flocked to the place in ſo great multitudes that it was thought fit not only to ſtay further reſort, but making choice of the moſt ſerviceable, to diſcharge diuers of the reſt.

Now as the *Engliſh* directed their way towards the place where they vnderſtood the *Scots* aſſembled, they came to

a river called *Lynne* crossed with a bridge of stone. The horsemen and carriages passed through the water, the footmen over the bridge, which because it was narrow the army was long in setting over. The Avantguard marched forth and the battaile followed, but as the Arriere was passing over, a very thicke mist did arise. The *Earle of Warwicke* hauing before espyed certaine plumpes of *Scottish* horsemen ranging the field returned towards the Arriere to prevent such danger as the thicknesse of the mist, the neerenes of the enemy, and the disaray occasioned by the narrownes of the bridge might cast vpon them. The *Scots* coniecturing (as it was) that some personage of honor staied to haue a view of the Arriere, called to the *english* to know if any noble man were neere, for that one whom they named (well knowne to be of honourable condition) would present himselfe to the *Generall* in case he might safe'y be conducted. Certaine young souldiers not vsed to such traines made rash and suddaine answer that the *Earle of Warwicke* was neere, vnder whose protection he might be assured. Herevpon they passed the water placed 200 of their pickers behinde a hillocke, and with 40 more cast about to finde the Earle. Now the *Earle* espying 6. or 7. of them scattered neere the army and taking them to be of the *English* sent one to command them to their *Arraie*, and to that end himselfe rode an easy pace towards them followed only with 10 or 12 on horsebacke. He that had bene sent before was so heedlesse either to obserue, or to aduertise what they were, that the Earle did not discouer them to be enemies vntill he was in the midst among them.

Certainely a commander should not carelesly cast himselfe into danger, but when either vpon necessity or misadventure he falleth into it, it much aduanceth both his reputation and enterprise if brauely he behaue himselfe. Now the *Earle* espying where he was gaue so rude a charge vpon a capitaine of the *Scots* named *Dandy Care*, that he forced him to turne, and chased him aboue 12 score at the lances

point. Herewith the residue retýred deceitfully towards the place of their *Ambush*, from whence issued about 60 more. Then the *Earle* gathered his small company about him, and with good countenance maintained the fight. But the enemy in the end whether perceiuing some succors advancing from the army where the *Alarme* was then taken, or whether intending to draw the *English* further into their *Ambush*, turned away an easy pace. The *Earle* forbad his men from following, fearing a greater ambush behind the hill as in truth there was. At his returne he was receiued with great applause by the *English* souldiers, for that he did so well acquit himselfe in the danger, wherein to by error and not by rashnes he had bin carryed. One of his men was slaine, another hurt in the buttocke, a third named *Vane* so grievously hewne that many thousands haue dyed of lesse then halfe his hurts, whereof notwithstanding, he was cured afterwards; of the *Scots* 3 were taken prisoners and presented to the generall by the *Earle*, of whom one had receiued many great entertainments and curtesies in *England*.

I may happily be thought tedious in setting downe these occurrences which may seeme small. But besides that in actions of armes small matters are many times of very great moment, especially when they serue to raise an opinion of commanders, I intend to describe this battaile fully, not to derogate thereby any thing from the one nation, or to arrogate to the other. For what honor riseth vpon euent of a battaile, when oftentimes the smallest accident ouerthroweth a side? And when victory doth more often fall, by error of the vanquished then by valor of the victorious. But my purpose is to make it appeare what miseries both nations haue avoided, and what quietnesse and security they haue attained by their peaceable union, when as either of them being able to bring such forces into the field for their mutuall ruine, they may now doe the like for their common either glory or necessity. Againe this battaile being partially describē

described heretofore by the writers of either nation and not without vncivill termes, I will now set it forth so indifferently and fairely as I can. Lastly this battaile is not slightly to be slipped ouer, being the last (wherein I pray that I may prophesie truly) that was or euer shall be strooke betweene the two nations. But I returne to my purpose.

Now the *Scottish* horsemen began to houer much vpon the *English* army, and to come pricking about them sometimes within the length of their staues, vsing some liberty of language to draw the *English* from their strength. But the *Generall* of the *English* knowing right well, that the *Scots* were expert in tumultuous fights, restrained his horie from falling forth, and maintained a close march vntill they came to *Salt Preston* by the Frith. Here they encamped within view of the *Scottish* army, little more then two miles distant from them. About a mile from the *English* another way, the *Scottish* horsemen were very busy, vpon a hill, and emboldened much partly vpon their former approaches, and partly by the neerenesse of their army, but cheifly vpon an opinion which they conceiued, that the *English* horsemen were young and vnskilfull, and easy to be dealt with, came vpon the *English* with encreased troopes, to the number of 1200 besides 500 foote which lay in ambush behind the hill. The *Lord Gray* and Sir *Francis Bryan* impatient of braueries obtained leaue of the *Generall* a little to assay them, and so as they came scattered vpon the spurre within a stones cast of the *English* and were beginning to wheele about, the *Lord Gray* with some troopes of lighthorsemen charged them home. These were forthwith seconded by certaine numbers of dimilances and both backed with about 1000 men at armes. The *Scots* meant not to depart before they had done their errand, wherefore turning their faces boldly maintained the fight, three houres and more. In the end ouerlaid with numbers they were put to flight and chased almost to the edge

edge of their campe, in this fight the chiefeſt force of the Scottiſh horſemen was defeated, to their great diſadvantage afterwards. The *Lord Hume* by a fall from his horſe loſt his life. His ſonne and heire with two Preſts and 6 gentlemen were taken priſoners, and about 1300 ſlaine. Of the *Engliſh* one *Spaniſh* hackbutter was hurt, and three captaines of the light horſe, by vnadviſed purſuite were taken priſoners.

The day next following the *Lord Generall* and the *Earle of Warwicke* rode towards the place where the *Scottiſh* army lay to view the manner of their encamping, as they were returned an herald and a trumpeter from the *Scots* overtooke them, and hauing obtained audience the *Herald* beganne, *That he was ſent from the Lord Governor of Scotland partly to enquire of priſoners, but cheiſly to make offer, that becauſe he was deſirous to auido not only profuſion but the leaſt effuſion of Chriſtian blood, and for that the Engliſh had not done any vnmanlike outrage or ſpoile, he was content they might returne, and ſhould haue his ſafe conduct for their peaceable paſſage.*

Then the Trumpeter, that the *Lord Huntly* his maſter ſent meſſage by him, that aſwell for breefe expedition, as to ſpare expence of chriſtian blood, he would fight vpon the whole quarrell either with 20 againſt 20 or with 10 againſt 10 or more particularly by ſingle combate betweene the *Lord Generall* and himſelfe, which in regard the *Scots* had advantage both for number and freſhneſſe of men, in regard alſo that for ſupply, both for proviſion and ſuccors they were at home, he eſteemed an honourable and charitable offer.

To the *Herald* the *Lord Generall* answered that as his coming was not with purpoſe or deſire to endamage their *Realme*, as he was there, he would neither intreat nor accept of him leaue to depart, but would meaſure his marches in aduancing or retiring, as his owne iudgment, guided by advice of his counſaile ſhould deeme expedient.

To the Trumpeter he returned answer, that the L. Huntley his master was a young gentleman full of free courage, but more desirous of glory then indiciuous, as it seemed, how to win it. That for number of Combatants it was not in his power to conclude a bargain, but was to employ all the forces put under his charge to the best advantage that he could, that in case this were a particular quarrell betweene the Governour and him, he would not refuse a particular combat, but being a difference betweene the kingdoms, it was neither fit, nor in his power either to undertake the adventure upon his owne fortune, or bearing a publike charge to hazard himselfe against a man of private condition.

Then the Earle of Warwicke said, I marvaile Trumpeter that thy master would make his challenge so fond, as he might well knowe it could not be accepted. For tell mee Trumpeter, can he thinke it fit, that he, to whose charge is committed the command of all this Army abroad, and at home the Kings person and protection of all his Realmes, should undertake a combat with a particular man. But he might have found others his equals amongst us, by whom he might have beene assured that he should be answered? And (therewith turning his speech to the L. Generall) under your Graces favour, I accept the challenge. And bring me word Trumpeter that thy master will performe with mee as thou hast said, and thou shalt have 100 crownes for thy travaile.

Nay, answered the L. Generall, you have a great charge in the Army, which upon a private mans challenge you must not abandon. But Herault tell the L. Governor, and the L. Huntley, That we have entred your country with a sober company (for so the Scots terme a thing that is meane) your army is both great and fresh, but let them appeare upon indifferent ground, and assuredly they shall have fighting enough. And bring me word Herault that they will so doe, and I will reward thee with 1000 crownes.

This Earle of Huntley was a man young, bold, adventurous, of very good resolution and skill in Armes. But this challenge

challenge was so farre beyond the point both of discretion and honor, that the *English* that knew his noble spirit, did beleue that his name was therein abused, which hee manifested to be true by disavowing it openly afterwards. For it is not fit that a man should abandon his publike charge to vndertake both the office and danger of a private Souldier. And therefore the like challenge of *Tullus* was refused by the commander of the *Albanus*. For that the contention was not betweene their persons, but between the Citties of *Alba* and *Rome*. So *Sertorius* was refused by *Metellus*, *Antonius* by *Augustus*, and *Iohn* Emperor of *Constantinople* by a king of *Scythia*, So *Antonius* *Caracalla* by reason of his often challenges, was esteemed not to be so valiant as vaine. And herevpon the histories of our times forbear not to blame *Charles* the first, Emperour, *Henry* the eight, king of *England*, and *Francis* the first, king of *France*, for that they often adventured rather as Souldiers then as Commanders.

But doubtlesse the *L. Governour* made a most honourable offer, and the rather for that it was conceiued by the *English*, that he held himselfe no lesse assured of victory then he was of his owne resolution to fight, whereto it seemed that he wanted not good reason, cheisly vpon confidence of his owne forces, and partly vpon expectation of 12 Gallies and 30 ships well appointed out of *France* to assaile the *English* at their backs. All the chiefe Captaines yeilded to the same advice of giving battaile, as out of their owne iudgements, because they saw it agreeable to that which the *L. Governour* had determined. To these the residue attributed so much, that albeit diuerse were of a different opinion, yet they chose rather to condemne their owne vnderstanding, then to question theirs.

During this enterparlance the *Scots* discharged 4 great shots against the *English* campe, without harme as it happened, but not without breach of the *Laws of the field*, whereby not only publike messengers are priuiledged to passe without either danger or scorne, but untill they haue discharged their message

message all hostility should surcease. Howsoever this happened the Generall of the English army vnwilling to bee behind in any equall or honourable offer, sent letters to the L. Governour of Scotland. Wherein he desired him and the residue of the Scottish nobility to consider, That both armies consisted of Christians, to whom nothing should be more deere then peace, nothing more detestable then effusion of humane blood. That the cause of this warre did not proceed from ambition, avarice, or hate, but from desire of perpetuall peace betweene their people and nations, which could no way so firmly be knit as by knitting their Princes together in marriage. That many other respects, set aside their King for his birth, his yeares, his royall estate, his princely personage, education, and qualities was such a marriage for their Queene, that a more convenient could not be found, that in case all the Nobility of Scotland were not of one minde. The English would bee content that their Queene should bee brought up amongst them, untill she should be of age to make her owne choice. Provided that in the meane time she should not bee transported to any forraigne country, or any agreement made for any other marriage. That vpon this condition there should be an abstinence of hostility for all that time, and they would in quiet manner withdraw their army, and repaire all dammages which indifferent Commissioners should adindge.

No answer was hereto returned, but rumors ran freshly among the Scottish souldiers, that the intention of the English was to take away their Queene by force, and vnder pretence of marriage to reduce the kingdome vnder their dominion, and verily it may seeme almost incredible that all these faire ouertures, made by men well esteemed for honest dealing, could take no place, that nothing could moue the Scots to forsake their distant and heavy helps, and to embrace friends, both ready and at hand. But besides that, the long continued warres betweene the English and the Scots, had then raised invincible ieaiousies and hate, which long continued peace hath since abolished, I doe herein ad-

mire the vnsearchable working and will of God, by whose inflexible decree the vnion betweene the two Realmes did not then take effect, when by the death of *K. Edward* it should haue beene of short continuance, (as by the death of *Francis* the second, the vnion betweene *France* and *Scotland* did suddenly dissolue) but was reserued vnto a more peaceable and friendly time, so for a person in whose progeny it hath taken deepe and durable root. And so for that time no conditions of peace being regarded, both sides adressed themselves to their adventure.

The places where the two Armies lay encamped, were diuided by the river *Eske*, the banks whereof were almost so deepe as the bankes of the *Peashes* mentioned before. The *Scots* lay somewhat neere the one side, & the *English* about two miles from the other. The *English* first raised their Campe, and began to march towards the river *Eske*, intending to possesse a hill called *Vnder-Eske*, which commanded the place where their enemies lay. The *Scots* coniecturing so much, cast their Tents flat vpon the ground, passed the River and mounted the Hill before the *English* could come neere. Herevpon the *English* turned aside to another hill called *Pinkenclench*, which afterwards fell much to their Advantage, aswell for that they were then in place to be ayded by their ships which rode neere in *Edenburgh Frith*, as also for that they gained thereby the advantage both of winde and Sunne, a great part of the strength of an Army, and lastly for that their enemies were thereby cast into a cruell error.

For no sooner did they espy the *English* turning from them, but forthwith they were of opinion that they fled towards their shipping. This surmise was first occasioned for that the *English* ships remoued the day before from *Lieth* to *Masleborough Frith*, which was conceiued to be for taking in their foote and carriages, that the horsemen might with lesse encumbrance and more hast returne backe vpon the spurre. Hereupon they had appointed the same night

night, (whose darknesse would haue encreased the feare) to haue giuen a camifado vpon the *English*. But vnderstanding that they were well entrenched hauing good escout abroad and sure watch within, they brake that purpose, but vpon this declining of the *English* from them, the conceit did againe reuiue, not only as a thing desired, but because the *English* were inferior vnto them in number, and had tra-uailed farre, and were well knowne to grow short in their provisions. Yea whe¹ they were discerned to make stand vpon the first ascent of *Pinkencleth* hill, the coniecture ran that their flight, was only deferred vntill they might couer their disorders by the dead darknesse of the night. *Marnailons security and alwaies dangerous, when men will not beleue any bees to be in a hine vntill they haue a sharpe sense of their stings.*

And thus the *Scots* heaued vp into high hope of victory, tooke the *English* fallen for foolish birds fallen into their nette, and seeming to feare nothing more then that they should escape, forlooke their hill and marched into the plaine directly towards the *English*. Here the Lord Governor put them in remembrance, how they could neuer yet be brought vnder by the *English*, but were alwaies able either to beate them backe, or to weary them away. He had them looke vpon themselves and vpon their enimies, themselves dreadfull, their enimies gorgeous and braue, on their side men, on the other spoil, in case either through slownesse or cowardise they did not permit them to escape, who (to now) already haue began their fight.

The whole army consisted of 35 or 36000 men of whom they made three battaillons. In the Auantgard commanded by the Earle of *Angus* about 15000 were placed, about 10000 in the battaile, over whom was the Lord Governor and so many in the Arriere, led by the valiant *Gordone Earle of Huntley*. Hackbutters they had none, no men at armes but about 2000 horsemen, prickets as they are termed, fitter to make excursions and to chafe then to sustaine

any strong charge. The residue were on foote well furnished With Iacke and skull, pike, dagger, bucklers made of boorde, and slicing swords, broad, thinne and of an excellent temper. Every man had a large kercheife folded twice or thrice about the necke, and many of them had chaines of latten drawne three or foure times along their hoses and doublet sleeues, they had also to affright the enimies horses, big rattles couered with parchment or paper, and small stones within, put vpō staues about three els long. But doubtles the ratling of shōt might haue done better service.

The *Earle of Angus* led the Avantguard with a well measured march, whereupon the *Lord Governor* commanded him by a messenger to double his pace, thereby to strike some terror vnto the enemy. Himselfe followed with the battaile a good distance behinde, and after came the Arrier well nigh euen with the battaile on the left side, the avantguard was flanked on the right side with 4 or 5 pieces of Artillery drawne by men, and with 400 horsemen prickers on the left. The battaile and Arriere were likewise guarded with Artillery in like sort drawne, and about 4000 *Irish* Archers brought by the *Earle of Argile*, serued as a wing to them both, rightly so termed as being the first who began the flight,

The *Generall* of the *English* and the *Earle of Warwicke* were together when the *Scots* thus abandoned the hill, which they espying gaue thanks to God, holding themselves in good hope of the euent, forthwith they ordered the artillery, and taking a louing leaue departed to their seuerall charge, the *Generall* to the battaile, where the *Kings* standard was borne, the *Earle* to the Avantguard, both on foote, protesting that they would liue or dy with the souldiers, whom also with bold countenance and speech (which serue souldiers for the best eloquence) they put in minde of the honour, their ancestors had acquired, of their own extreme disgrace and danger if they fought not well, that the iustice of their quarrell should not so much encourage as enrage them,
being

being to revenge the dishonor done to their King, and to chastise the deceitfull dealings of their enimies, that the multitude of their enimies should nothing dismay them, because they who come to maintaine their owne breach of faith, besides that the checke of their consciences much breaketh their spirit, haue the omnipotent arme of God most furious against them.

Herewith arose a buzzing noise among them as if it had bin the rustling sound of the sea a faire of, euery man addressing himselfe to his office, and encouraging those who were neereest vnto them. The Earle ranged his Avaunguard in Array vpon the side of the hill, expecting vntill the enemy should more neerely approach. The generall after he had ordered his Battaile, parte vpon the hill, and parte vpon the plaine, somewhat distant from the Avantguard on the right side, mounted the hill to the great artillerie, to take a view of both the Armies, and to giue directions as occasions should change. The Arrier stood wide of the battaile vpon the same side, but altogether vpon the plaine. The L. Gray Capitaine of the men at Armes, was appointed to stand somewhat distant from the Avantguard on the left side, in such sort as he might take the flanke of the enimie, but was forbidden to charge, vntill the foot of the Avantguard were buckled with them in front, and vntill the battaile should be neere enough for his reliefe.

Now after that the *Scots* were well aduanced in the field, marching more then an ordinary pace, the great shot from the *English* ships, and especially from the galley began furiously to scoure among them, whereby the *M^r of Grime* and diuers others about were tome in peices; especially the wing of the *Irish* was so grievously either galled or scarred therewith, that (being strangers and in a manner neutralls) they had neither good heart to goe forward, nor good likeing to stand still, nor good assurance to run away. The Lord Gray perceiued this amazement, and conceiued thereby occasion to be ripe, wherevpon when the enemy was not
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about two flight shot from the *English* avantguard, suddenly and against direction with his men at armes, he charged them on head.

The *Scots* were then in a fallow field, whereinto the *English* could not enter, but ouer a crosse ditch and a slough, in passing whereof many of the *English* horse were plunged and some mired, when with some difficulty and much disorder they had passed this ditch, the ridges of the fallow field lay trauese, so as the *English* must crosse them in presenting the charge. Two other disadvantages they had, the enemies pikes were longer then their staues, and their horses were naked without any barbs. For albeit many brought barbes out of *England*, yet because they expected not in the morning to fight that day, few regarded to put them on.

The *Scots* confident both in their number, order, and good appointment, did not only abide the *English*, but with some biteing termes provoked them to charge. They cloased and in a manner locked themselves together, shoulder to shoulder, so neere as possibly they could, their pikes they strained in both hands and therewith their buckler in the left, the one end of the pike against the right foote, the other breast high against the enemy. The fore ranke stooped so low as they seemed to kneele, the second ranke close at their backs, crossed their pikes ouer their shoulders, and so did the third and the rest in their order, so as they appeared like the thornie skinn of a hedhogge, and it might be thought impossible to breake them. Notwithstanding the charge was given with so well gouerned fury, that the left corner of the *Scots* battaillon was enforced to giue in, But the *Scots* did so brauely recouer and acquit themselves, that diuerse of the *English* horsemen were overthrowne, and the residue so disordered as they could not conueniently fight or fly, and not only iustled & bare downe one another, but in their confused tumbling backe brake a part of the Avantguard on foote. In this encounter 26 of the
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English were slaine most part Gentlemen of the best esteem. Divers others lost their horses, and carried away markes that they had beene there. The *L. Gray* was dangerously hurt with a pike in the mouth, which stricke two inches into his necke. The *L. Edward Seymer* sonne to the *L. Generall* lost his horse, and the English Standard was almost lost.

Assuredly albeit encounters betweene horsemen on the one side, and foot on the other are scildome with the extremity of danger, because as horsemen can hardly breake a battaile on foot, so mē on foot cannot possibly chase horsemen. Yet hearevpon so great was the tumult and feare among the *English*, that, had not the commanders bin men both of approued courag and skill, or happely had the *Scots* bine well furnished with men at Armas the army had that day beene vtterly vndone. For an army is commonly like a flocke of fowles when some begine to flie all will follow. But the *Lord Gray* to repaire his error endeoured with all industrie to vallye his horse: The *Lord Generall* also mounted on horsebacke and came amongst them both by his presence & aduice to reduce the into order. *Sr. Ralph Vane* & *Sr. Ralph Sadler* did memorable service. But especially the *Earle of Warwicke* who was in greatest danger declared his resolution and judgment to bee most present in reteyning his men both in order and in heart. And hauing cleered his foot from disturbance by the horsemen, hee sent forth before the front of his Avantgard *Sr. Peter Mewcas* Capitaine of all the Hackbutteres on foot, and *Sr. Peter Gamboa*, a Spaniard Capitaine of 200 Hackbutteres *Spanish* and *Italians* on horse. These brought their men to the slough mentioned before, who discharging liuely almost cloie to the face of the enemy did much amaze them, being also disordered by the late pursuit of the *English* horsemen, and by spoiling such as they had ouerthrowne. At the backes of these the Archers were placed, who before had marched on the right wing of the Avantguard, and then sent such

showers of shot ouer the Hackbutter's heads, that many bodies of their enemies being but halfe armed, were beaten downe and buried therewith. And besides the Master of the Artillery did visit them sharply with murthering haile-shot from the peeces mounted towards the top of the hill, also the Artillery which flanked the Arriere executed hotly. Lastly the ships were not idle, but especially the galley did play vpon them and plague them very fore.

The Scots being thus applied with shot, and perceiuing the Avantguard of the *English* to be in good order, neere-ly to approach, & the men at armes to haue recouered their Array, turned their Avantguard somewhat towards the South, to win, as it was thought, some advantage of ground. By this meanes they fell directly on head on the *English* battaile, wherevpon the Earle of *Warwicke* addressed his men to take the flanke. The Avantguard of the *Scots* being thus vpon, and beset with enemies, began a little to retire towards their great battaile, either to be in place to be relieved by them, or happely to draw the *English* more separate and apart. The *Irish* Archers espying this and surmising the danger to be greater then it was, suddenly brake vp & committed the lastie of their liues to their nimble foot-manship. After whose example all the rest threw away their weapons, and in headlong hast abandoned the field, not one stroke hauing bene giuen by the *English* on foot. But then the horsemen comming furiously forward had them very cheap.

The flight was made three waies, some running to *Edenburgh*, some along the sands towards *Lieth*, but the most towards *Dakeith*, which way by reason of the marish the *English* horse were least able to pursue. The chase was giuen from one of the clocke in the afternoone till almost six. It reached fise miles in length, and foure in breadth, all which waies the *Scots* scattered, in their flight *Iackes*, *Swords*, *Bucklers*, *Daggers*, or whatsoeuer was either cumbersome, or of weight to impeach their hast, yea some cast

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off their shooes and dublets and fled in their shirts. Divers other devises were practised to avoid or deferre the present danger. Some intreated and offered large ransomes, some being pursued only by one, sodainly turned head and made resistance, by whom many horses were disabled, and some of their horses either slaine or hurt. The Earle of *Angus* a man of assured both hardinesse and vnderstanding, couched in a furrow and was passed ouer for dead vntill a horse was brought for his escape. 2000 others lying all the day as dead departed in the night, Divers others plunged into the river *Eske*, and couered themselues vnder roots & branches of trees, many so streined themselves in their race that they fell downe breathlesse and dead, whereby they seemed in running from their deaths to runne vnto it.

The *English* discerned in their retreat that the execution had beene too cruell, and farre exceeding the bounds of ordinary hostility, which happely was a cause in the secret iudgment of God, that they had no better fruit of their victory. The dead bodies lay all the way scattered so thicke as a man may see sheepe grazing in a well stored pasture, most slaine in the head or necke for that the horsemen could not well touch lower with their swords, and scarce credible it is how soone they were stripped and laid naked vpon the ground. But then againe the eyes of all men were fastned vpon them with pittie and admiration, to behold so many naked bodies, as for talnesse of stature, whitnesse of skinne, largenesse and due proportion of limbes, could hardly be equalled in any one country. The ground where their severall battailons first brake, lay strewed with pikes so thicke as a floore is vsually strewed with rushes, whereby the places could hardly be passed ouer either by horse or by foot: the riuer *Eske* ran red with blood, so as they who perished therein might almost bee said to bee drowned in their fellowes blood.

On the other side when they came to the place where the *English* men at Armes had beene defeated, many of

their horses were found grievously gashed or goared to death. The English who there perished were so deeply wounded, especially on the head that not one could be discerned by his face. Braue *Edward Shellie*, who was the first man that charged, was knowne only by his beard, Little *Preston* for that both his hands were cut off being known to haue worne bracelets of gold about his wrists, others were brought to knowledge by some such particular marks. *Hereby appeareth (as I said before) what blessing is growne to both nations by their late happy union when before they were like two rude encountring Rammes, whereof he that escapes best is sure of a blowe.*

Divers of the Nobilitie of *Scotland* were here slaine, and many Gentlemen both of worth and noble birth, of the inferior sort about 10000, & as some say 14000 lost their liues. Of the English were slaine 51 horsemen & one footman, but a farre greater number hurt. The *Scottish* prisoners accounted by the *Marshalls* booke, were about 1500. The chiefe whereof were the Earle of *Huntley*, the Lords *Teste* *Hoblie*, and *Hamilton*, the Mr of *Sampoole*, and the L. of *Wimmes*. A Herault was also taken but discharged forthwith. The execution was much maintained by the *Scots* owne swords, scattered in every place. For no sooner had an English horseman brake his sword, but forthwith he might take vp another. Insomuch that many of them brake three or foure before their retume. So apparant is the hand of God against violation of faith, that it is often chastised by the meanes appointed to defend it.

Of all other the English men were least favourable to the Priests and Monkes, by the *Scots* called *Kirkmen*, who had beene equally troublesome in peace and vnprofitable in warre. To whom many as well English as *Scots* imputed the calamity of that day, these made a band of 3 or 4000, as it was said, but they were not altogether so many, howbeit many Bishops and Abbots were amongst them, from these diuers *Scots* feared more harme by victory, then they found

found among their enemies by their overthrow. After the field a banner was found of white sarcenet, whereon a woman was painted, her haire about her shoulders kneeling before a crucifix, on her right hand a church, and along the banner in faire letters written *Afflictæ ecclesia ne obliuiscaris*. This was supposed to haue beene the Kirkemens banner. But could this crucifix haue spoken, as one is said to haue spoken to S^t Francis and another to S^t Thomas, it might happely haue told them, that *neither religious persons are fit men for armes, nor armes fit meanes either to establish or advance Religion.*

I must not forget the fidelity of a *Scottish* souldier towards the *Earle of Huntly*. He finding the *Earle* assaulted by the *English*, and without his helmet, tooke of his owne headpeece and put it on the *Earles* head. The *Earle* was therewith taken prisoner but the souldier for want thereof was presently stroke downe. This *Earle* was of great courage & for this cause much loued of his souldiers, to whom he was no lesse louing againe. This he manifested by his great care for such *Scottish* prisoners as were either wounded or poore, providing at his proper charge, cure for the one and releife for the other. This *Earle* being asked whilst he was prisoner, how he stood affected to the marriage, answered that he was well affected to fauour the marriage but he nothing liked that kinde of wooing.

Certaine of those who escaped by flight excused their dishonor, not without a sharpe iest against some of their leaders, affirming that as they had followed them into the field, so it was good reason they should follow them out. Those bitter jests the more truth they carry, the more biting memory they leaue behinde.

The day of this fight being the 10th of September seemeth to be a most disastrous day to the *Scotts*, not only in regard of this overthrow, but for that vpon the same day 34 yeares before they were in like sort defeated by the *English* at *Flodden* field. The victory raised exceeding

ioy among the *English* partly because it came so cheape, & partly by reason of the great danger and greater terror that had bin cast vpon them by reason of the repulse and disarray of their men at Armes.

Now as seildome one accident either prosperous or aduerse, cometh vnaccompanied with the like, so this calamity hapned not to the *Scots* alone. For whilst the *English* army had thus drawne both the preparations and intentions of the *Scots* wholly vpon them. The Lord Wharton and the Earle of Leuenoxe entred Scotland on the west marches with 5000 men, and hauing marched two miles they wonne the church of *Anan*, a strong place and alwaies much annoying the *English*, there they tooke 62 prisoners, fired most part of the spoyle, and ouerthrew the fort with powder, passing 16 miles further they tooke the castle of *Milke*, which they fortified strongly and planted a garrison therein, and after much spoile and wast of the country returned safely into *England*.

These successes did strike such a terror into many of the *Scots* that the Earle Botwell and diuerse cheife gentlemen of *Tinedale* and *Meers* supposing to finde more easy conditions by yeelding then by striuing, submitted themselves to the King of *England*, and were receiued by the Lord Generall into protection. But it is most cerraine that the *English* made not their best improuements of these fortunate euent, and that especially by two miserable errors, cunctation in prosecuting, and haste in departure. But doubtlesse the vnion of these two realmes was a worke most proper to Gods omnipotent arme, which afterwards effected the same, as by milder meanes, so in a more durable manner then they could haue bin vnited by Armes. This high appointment of God we must reuerence and admire, but not omit to obserue the errors committed.

First therefore after the retraits, the *English* lodged the same night in the place where the battraile had bin fought. Where and in the villages not farre distant they sojourned
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five daies, without doing any thing, in the meane time the *English* searched the riuers and hauens whether the *Scottish* ships were retyred, in such sort as they left few ships of war vnspoiled or vntaken, the army also gathered the spoile of the field, whereof 30000 iacks and swords, & 30 peices of great artillery were shipped for *England*.

The *English* hauing thus long breathed and thereby giuen breathing to their enimies fired *Lieth* tooke *S^r Colmes*. *Broughticragge*, *Rockesborough*, *Humes castle*, *Aymouth*, *Fial castle*, *Dunglasse*, *Kilnecombe*, and diuers other small pieces, whereof parte they ruined, parte they enlarged and fortified and furnished them with able souldiers, accustomed with often and prosperous successe. Herewith as if they had beene weary of their faire fortunes, they suddainly brake off the enterprise and returned another way into *England*, hauing staid not aboue 25 daies in *Scotland*, and lost vnder 60 men. The pretence of their departure was worse then the departure it selfe, namely for that the yeare and their prouisions were far spent, and the country afforded little forrage. Assuredly as nature taketh least care for those things which she formeth in hast, so violent and storm-like fortunes how terrible so euer, are seldome durable.

Now the Lord *Gouernor* of *Scotland* being of great courage and sober iudgement, as a man might well read in his face, as he had amply performed his duty both before the battaile and in the field, so especially after the fight he declared himselfe to be of a stout and vnbroken spirir. For first he assembled the disperfed forces of the *Scottish* army, albeit not in sufficient manner to giue a fresh battaile, by reason that much of their armor was lost, yet able to keepe the *English* from ranging at large. Then hee presented the *English* with diuers offers of treaty touching matters in difference, vntill the country was discharged of them, lastly knowing right well that counsels are commonly censured by euent, and that in matters of armes, albeit the praise of prosperous successe is shared amongst many, yet the blame

of misadventures is charged vpon one. And fearing hereby mutinies amongst his owne people, and contempt of others, hauing first assured the young *Queene* in place of good defence, he assembled the *Scottish* nobility and vsed words to this effect.

I assure my selfe that many of you my Lords and more of the vulger are much displeased with me for that I haue aduised this warre whereof so sad euents haue followed, for this cause I haue assembled you together to reduce you to a better opinion, or to blame you deeply, either if you remaine offended, or if you cast downe your courage throw feare, the betrayer of all succors which reason can afforde, for tell me if you are discontented with me for aduising this warre, doe you not condemne your selues for following the aduice? It is certaine that at the first you were all of my opinion, and that I did nothing without your approuement. If now vpon one misadventure you change your iudgements, and charge the fault only vpon me, you doe me wrong and discover your owne weaknesse, in being vnable to endure those things which you knew were casuall, and which you were resolu'd to endure. But I make no doubt but the same reasons which induced you to entertaine this warre, will induce you also to prosecute the same, howsoeuer sodaine and vnexpected euents dismay your iudgments, for the present.

Touching my selfe I was alwaies of opinion, and shall neuer change, that it is better the kingdome should be in good estate, with particular losse to many of the people, then that all the people should be well and the state of the kingdome altogether lost or dishonourably impaired, euen as it is better that a ship should be preserued with some discommodity to the sailers, then that the sailers being in health the ship should perish, or as it is lesse dangerous when diuerse parts of a tower are decayed and the foundation firme, then when the foundation is ruinous, albeit the parts remaine entire. For the common estate is but weakened by calamities of particular persons, but the ruine of the state innolueeth all in a generall destruction. And therefore they are to be blamed alike, both who

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more and who decline warre vpon particular respects, the com- either honour or necessity must bee the true measure of both.

But the cause of this warre is no other then that wee will not incontinently submit our selues to doe what our neighbours require. That is because at the first word wee are not forward to thrust our necks vnder the girdles of our enimies, yea our old enimies, yea our only enimies of any account for many years, who in their gluttonous hope haue deuoured our kingdome, who by the bloody execution of their late victories haue shewen what curtesie wee may expect at their hands. In doing whereof wee shall abandon our ancient and approved friends, who as they neuer failed vs in our extremities, so are they now prepared with large aides to relieue vs, who will not feare or pause at the least, before he leap vpon this sodaine changer, who will forsake long tryed friends to rely vpon those, who alwaies haue beene ready by Armes to infest vs. Not at all times vpon desire either of reuenge or spoile, but to bring vs vnder their ambitious dominion, which of vs had not rather dye, this day then see our enimies in our strongest castles and yoakes of garrisons cast vpon our necks? Who will not preferre a death for libertie before a life without it?

Their promises are faire and large indeed I must say but of what assurance? What assurance can we haue but that when we haue listd them into the chaire of state, wee shall not be compelled to be their footemen? If our prince were a man and should marry an inheretrix of England, wee should happily haue no cause to feare, but that he would maintaine the liberty of his native country, but being a woman and desired in marriage of a King of England, vnder whose power and custody she must abide, how shall we be able against his minde either to benefit or preserue vs, verily as men hate those that affect that honour by ambition which pertaineth not to them, so are they much more odious who either through negligence or through feare will betray the glory and liberty which they haue.

Now my Lordes if any surmise either that this warre will be long, or that we shall haue the worst in the end, his error is great, for removing whereof, I must tell you, that which many of you seeme either little to remember or never to haue knowne; doe you suppose the state of this realme, (of the valour whereof the enemy hath often found wofull prooffe) to be now so feeble that it cannot beare off a greater blow then this? It hath often done it and is able of it selfe to doe it againe, if our endeavours be answerable to our meanes, Our Ancestors haue sustained many greater dangers, and yet retaining their libertie haue left both it and their honour entire to vs, what are wee of lesse heart then they? For of lesse ability we are not, shall we shew our selues unworthy of our succession from them? Assuredly it is more shame for a man to loose that which he holdeth, then to faile in getting that which he never had.

But suppose our forces to be neuer driven then they are our ancient allies the French are vpon the seas and neere approaching for our reliefe, also our friends in Italie and other partes haue sent vs money to supply our wants, wherfore Lords it is meete that we resume our ancient courage, and addresse our selues for new preparation not only vpon those hopes both from our selues and our friends, but in contempt of our enemies. For often it hapneth that a prosperity unexpected maketh men carelesse and remisse if they be not very wise, whereas they who haue receiued that wound become more vigilant & collected, especially when they see not only the common honour and liberty but their particular both seignories and safeties to be at the stake.

And albeit the enemy hath done that which it was to be believed they would endeavour to doe, in case we would not yeeld vnto them, yet as those things must be endured vpon necessity, which happen by the hand of God. So those which come from enemies must be borne by vertue. And since it is a custome of our country so to doe, sith our people are famous for being nothing abashed at crosse events, take wee heed this vertue faile not in vs. If it doth? If we shew our selues heart-
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lesse and faint, wee shall utterly overthrow not only the glory but the memory, both of our ancestors and of our state.

As for those who haue yeilded to our enemies let vs esteeme them as fugitives and traitors, who endeavour to cast themselves and their country into subiection but let vs stand assured, that they who least shrink at the stormes of fortune, whether in publique or private affaires are alwaies most vertuous and victorious in the end.

On the other side K. Edward added to his glory, curtesie & liberality; shewing himselfe most graticus in countenance to all, & giuing rewards sutable to every mans performance or place. The L: Protector he rewarded with lands of the yeerely value of 500^l. and certaine it is that these first fortunes raised vnto him a great respect both in other countries and among his owne people, and the rather because he was discerned to be much searching both into the Counsailes and after the events of all his affaires, and likewise into the condition and state both of his owne strength and of the countries neere vnto him.

But these prosperous proceedings were not only hindred, in their fairest course, but altogether stayd, and in some measure turned backe by reason of the vnadvised forwardnesse of diuers chiefe counsailors, in making both sodaine and vnseasonable alterations in matters of state, whose greedy desires of having their wills in all they liked, bred both trouble to the realme and to themselves danger for great & sodaine changes are never without danger, vntill the Prince be both well settled in government and able to beare out his actions by power, but whilest K. Edward was both vnripe in years and new in government to attempt a change both sodaine and great, could not be accompanied with many mischiefs. The great matters wherein alteration was wrought were especially two, religion and enclosures.

Now for that Religion is of so high and noble a nature, of so absolute necessity in a common wealth; that it is esteemed the foundation of Lawes, and the common band of humane

Now my Lordes if any surmise either that this warre will be long, or that we shall haue the worst in the end, his error is great, for removing whereof, I must tell you, that which many of you seeme either little to remember or never to haue knownen; doe you suppose the state of this realme, (of the valour whereof the enemy hath often found wofull prooffe) to be now so feeble that it cannot beare off a greater blow then this? It hath often done it and is able of it selfe to doe it againe, if our endeavours be answerable to our meanes, Our Ancestors haue sustained many greater dangers, and yet retaining their libertie haue left both it and their honour entire to vs, what are wee of lesse heart then they? For of lesse ability we are not, shall we shew our selues unworthy of our succession from them? Assuredly it is more shame for a man to loose that which he holdeth, then to faile in getting that which he never had.

But suppose our forces to be neerer driven then they are our ancient allies the French are upon the seas and neere approaching for our reliefe, also our friends in Italie and other partes haue sent vs money to supply our wants, wherfore Lords it is meete that we resume our ancient courage, and addresse our selues for new preparation not only upon those hopes both from our selues and our friends, but in contempt of our enemies. For often it hapneth that a prosperity unexpected maketh men carelesse and remisse if they be not very wise, whereas they who haue receiued that wound become more vigilant & collected, especially when they see not only the common honour and liberty but their particular both seignories and safeties to be at the stake.

And albeit the enemy hath done that which it was to be believed they would endeavour to doe, in case we would not yeeld vnto them, yet as those things must be endured upon necessity, which happen by the hand of God. So those which come from enemies must be borne by vertue. And since it is a custome of our country so to doe, sith our people are famous for being nothing abashed at crosse events, take wee heed this vertue faile not in vs. If it doth? If we shew our selues heart-lesse

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Now for that Religion is of so high and noble a nature, of so absolute necessity in a common wealth; that it is esteemed the foundation of Lawes, and the common band of humane

society, no sodeyne alteration can almost be made therein, but many will be induced thereby to attempt some alteration in rule, whence (saith Dio) conspiracies & seditions are often occasioned. For Religion being seated in the high throne of conscience is a most powerfull ruler of the soule and farre preferred before estimation of life, or any other worldly respect, for this advanceth man to the highest happinesse, It leadeth him to his last end, all other things are but instruments, this is the hand, all other things are but accessaries this is the principall. And therefore as all men are naturally moved by religion, so when they are violently thrust forward by those who (as Liuie speaketh) make it their purpose to possesse soules by superstition, then doe they breake all bands of reason and of rule, no perswasion of the one, no command of the other can then restraineth them. Multitudo vbi religione capta est melius vatibus quam ducibus suis paret, Curt. lib. 4^o

I will not deny but that some change in religion is often expedient and sometimes necessary because more in that then in any other thing, it is hard to containe men from running into one of these extreames either of vaine superstition or of carelesse contempt, but this must be done with a soft and tender hand, & as Cicero speaketh, vt quum minimo sonitu orbis in republica convertatur. Some respect should also haue been given to those greene times, to the monstrous multitude muffled with 2 great plagues & corruptions of iudgement, custome and ignorance, whereto may be added grieve at their owne wants, and envy at the prosperity of others, especially for that many bold spirits were busied, not only to incense but to lead them into much variety of mischief. And if it be said that K. Henry the 8th had quietly passed the like change before, I answer the example was not then to be followed, the kings were not equall either in spirit or in power. Euen as it is in the fable that albeit an Eagle did beare away a lamb in her talents with full flight, yet a raven endeavouring to doe the like was hold entangled and fettered in the flecce.

Touching enclosures, I am not ignorant what a profitable purchase.

purchase is made thereby, not only to particular persons, but generally to the whole Commonwealth, in case it bee without depopulation, because a companie of lands inclosed, are thereby improved in worth 2 or 3^d parts at the least, hereby two great commodities ensue, riches and multitude of people, because the more ritches are raised out of lands, the more people are thereby maintained. This doth plainly appeare by two shires almost, equall both in greatnesse and in goodnesse of soyle. Northampton much champion, and Somerset altogether enclosed, for if estimation may be made by musters, and by subsidies, tenths and fiftens enclosure hath made the one county more then double to exceed the other both in people and in wealth.

Notwithstanding the Lord Protector gaping after the fruitlesse breath of the multitude, & more desirous to please the most then the best causing a proclamation to be set forth against enclosures, commanding that they who had inclosed any lands accustomed to lie open should upon a certaine paine before a day assigned lay them open againe. This Proclamation whilst fewe were forward to obey gave occasion to the mutinous multitude instable in iudgement. and tempestuous when they are stirred all carried with a headlong rashnesse, and one following another as wiser then himselfe immoderately both in desire & hope to be easily drawn by others who had deeper reaches then themselves to matters which at the first they least intended.

And againe soone after the beginning of the young kings raigne, certaine iniunctions were set forth for removing images out of Churches which had beene highly, not onely esteemed but honoured before, and for abolishing or altering some other ancient observations in the Church. Hereupon commissioners were dispatched into all parts of the realme to see those iniunctions to be executed, with those divers preachers were sent furnished with instructions to perswade the people from praying to Saints as for the dead, for adoring Images, from use of beades, ashes and processions, from masse, dirges,

praying in unknown languages, & from some other like things whereunto long custome had wrought a religious observation and for defect of preachers, homilies were appointed to be publicly read in Churches, ayming to the very same end.

Some other offering to maintaine these ceremonies were either punished or forced to recant, Edmund Bonner Bishop of London was committed prisoner to the Fleet, for refusing to receiue these iniunctions. Stephan Gardiner was likewise committed first to the Fleet, afterwards to the Tower, for that he had openly preached that it were well these changes in religion should be stayed, untill the King were of yeares to governe by himselfe. This the people apprehending worse then it was either spoken or meant, a question began to bee raised among them, whether during the Kings minoritie such alterations might lawfully be made or no. for the like causes Tonstall BP of Duresme, and Heath BP of Rochester, were in like committed to prison, all these being then and still continuing famous for learning and iudgement were dispossessed of their Bishoppricks, but no man was touched in life.

Hereupon a Parliament was held in the first yeare of the King: and by prorogation in the second, wherein diuerse Colleges, Channtries, free Chappells, Fraternities, Guildes, &c. with all their lands and goods were put into the actuall possession of the King: part of the goods and lands being sold at a low value, enriched many, and enobled some, and thereby made them firme in maintaining the charge, also that no man should speake against receasing the Eucharist vnder both kindes, which had beene restrained in times before, and that Bishops should be placed by collation of the King vnder his Letters Patents, without any precedent election or confirmation ensuing, and that all processes ecclesiasticall should be made in the Kings name, as in writs at the common Law, and that all persons exercising Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction should haue the Kings armes in their seales of office, and further the Statute of the 6 Articles, and other statutes concerning punishment of Lollards were repealed, and so was another statute restraining the

the use of Scriptures in the English tongue, and the Kings supremacy over the Church of England was confirmed. Here with a booke was set forth for publike prayers by proclamation, and for administration of the Sacraments, & other rights and offices of the Church, and diuerse punishments were appointed by proclamation, either for not using the formes prescribed in that booke, or for depraving any thing therein contained.

I forbear to rehearse other acts of this Parliament, albeit a noble writer in our time esteemes it to be a mayme in historie that the acts of Parliament should not bee recited, which I conceiue so farre to bee true as they occasion tumults or diuision, or some remarkable alteration in state, otherwise as I finde them not regarded by most imitable writers, so I account the relation of them both fruitlesse & improper for a true caryed history.

Now in this meane time the commissioners before mentioned were earnest in executing their authority. And either pulled downe or defaced all images in Churches, and that in such vnseasonable & vnseasoned fashon as if it had beene done in hostility against them, hererat many did expresse a sense of distast, some for religious respects, others in regard of the excellent artifice of some of their pieces, affirming that albeit religious reverence migh happily haue beene either taken away or moderated, yet the civill regard which all men doe not only afford but affect, in maintaining the memory of those whom they honour or loue, might be endured without offence.

Certainly albeit the religion of the Romans endured 170 yeeres according to a law of *Numa Pompilius* without any images, albeit the *Persians* had neither images nor temples nor altars, being of opinion that God could bee represented by no device that he had no temple but the world, no Altar but the heart of man, albeit *Ensebius* writeth that the people of *Asia* called *Seres* by expresse law forbad adoration of images, albeit that images were forbidden of *Lycurgus*

curgus as drawing men from the true worship of that which cannot be seene. Albeit the ancient *Germans* & from the *Brittaines*, and the *Gaules* had neither Images nor Temples, albeit the *Iewes*, and in imitation of them, the *Saracens* and *Turkes* abhorre nothing more then Images, either in their temples, or in their houses, because the lawe of God forbiddeth not onely to adore but to make any image. Albeit the *Christians* continued along time without Images in their Churches, yet were they never entertained into any religion, but presently they tooke deepe root in the hearts and consciences of the common people. When *Leo Isauricus* surnamed *Iconomadius* assembled a counsell at *Constantinople*, wherein it was decreed that Images should be cast out of Churches and burnt, the West part of his Empire did therevpon first rebell, & afterwards revolt.

And yet while these proceedings were but in the bud, affaires of state without the Realme were maintained in good condition of honour, but seemed rather to stand at a stay, then either to advance or decline. In *Scotland* the warres were maintained by the *L. Gray of Wilton*, Lieutenant of the North, with variable successe, he fortified *Haddington*, fired *Dawkeith*, and wonne the Castle where foureteene *Scots* were slaine, and 300 taken prisoners, hee spoiled much of the country about *Edenburgh*, *Lowthum*, and *Meers*, fired *Muscleborough*, and fortified *Lowder*, & tooke *Yester*, at the yeelding whereof he granted life to all except to one who had vsed vild speeches against *K. Edward*. Those speeches were commonly cast vpon one *Newton* but he charged them vpon one *Hamilton*, Herevpon *Hamilton* challenged *Newton* to the combate, which hee did readily accept and the *L. Gray* consented to the triall, to this purpose Lists were erected in the market place at *Haddington* whereinto at the time appointed, both the combatants entered, apparellled only in their doublets and hoses, and weapned with sword, buckler, and dagger. At the first encounter

encounter *Hamilton* draue *Newton* almost to the end of the lists, which if he had fully done he had thereby remained victorious, but *Newton* on the suddaine gaue him such a gash on the legge that therewith he fell to the ground, & *Newton* forthwith dispatched him with his dagger, certaine gentlemen then present offered to haue fought with *Newton* vpon the same point, but this was adiudged to be against the lawes of combate, wherefore *Newton* was not only acquitted but rewarded with a chaine of gold, & with the gowne which the *Lord Gray* did then weare, howbeit many were perswaded that he was faulty and happily neither of them was free, but he enioyed neither his escape nor his honor long, for soone after he was hewen in pieces by *Hamiltons* friends.

On the other side the *Scots* became before *Broughtcragge* with 8000 men and 8 pieces of Artillerie, but it was for that time well defended by the *English* who by often sallies enforced their enimies with losse of their Artillerie to abandon the attempt, after this diuerse other enterprises were made vpon that fort; at the last it was taken where the *Scots* slue all except *Sir Iohn Latterel* the captaine who was taken prisoner.

And now *Henry* the 2^d of *France* having newly succeeded *Francis* the first, who dyed the last of March 1547. sent *Monsieur Dassel* his Lieutenant into *Scotland* with an armie of about 10000 *French* & *Almaines* who ioining with the *Scots* besieged *Haddington* and that with so good earnest, as sixe pieces of artillerie discharged 240. shot in one day and in another 200 within 60 paces of the wall, they lodged so neere within the very ditches that the *English* slue diuers of them with plummetts of lead tyed to a truncheon or staffe by a cord, the place was but weake and the brackes faire but the defendants by resolution supplied all the defects, making diuers sallies with such liuely spirit that the Assaylants were thereby discouraged from making assault. The *English* from *Barwicke* with about 1500 horse

did often relieue the defendants by breaking through the the middest of their enemies ; but at the last they were so strongly both encountred and enloased betweene the *French Almaines* and *Scots*, & that *Sir Thomas Palmer* the chiefe leader and about 400 were taken prisoners and diuers slaine. Herevpon the *Earle of Shrewsbury* was sent with an army of about 15000 men whereof 3000 were *Almaines*, but vpon notice of his approach the *French* raised the field, retyred so farre as *Muscleborough* & there encamped, attributing much honour to the *English* for their valour in regard of the small strength of the place which they defended, when the *Earle* had victualled & reinforced the towne, he marched forth towards the enemies and encamped neere vnto them, and first a fewe of the *English* horse approached neere the army of the *French*, who sent forth some troopes of their horse to encounter them, but the *English* retyred vntill they had drawn the *French* into an ambush laid for the purpose and then charging together they had them cheap, amongst which two captaines of account were taken prisoners. The next day the *Earle* presented his army in plaine field before the enemies campe cloased in three bodies and ranged ready to abide battaile. The *French* had newly receiued supply of 14 or 15000 *Scots* but yet remained within their strength holding it no w. sdome to venter on men resolu'd to fight, who being forthwith to depart the realme and could neither longe endanger nor indamage them much. So the *Earle* after that he had remained about an hower and perceiuing that the *French* intended not to forsake their strength, returned vnto his campe and afterwarde to *England*, destroying *Donbarr* and some other which stood neere his passage, the Army being dissolud, and the *Scots* thought secure, the *Lord Gray* with his horsemen entred *Scotland* did great wast in *Tuedale* and *Liddesdale* for the space of 20 miles, and returned without encounter, Also a navy was apoynted to coast along with the army before mentioned.

mentioned, This fleet coming to *Brent Island* fired 4 ships then attempting vpon *S. Minnes* were repulſed by the *Lord Dun*, and ſo without either glory or gaine returned into *Englande*.

Not long after the departure of the *English army* *M^r Daſſie* with his *French* and *Almaines* attempted ſodenly to ſurpriſe *Haddington*, the enterpriſe was gouerned in ſo ſecret manner that the *French* had ſlaine the *English* eſcouts and entred the baſe court and aproached the maine gates before any alarme was taken, but then the Towneſmen came forth many in their ſhirts, who with the helpe of the watch ſuſtained the aſſault, vntill the Souldiers in better apointment came to their aide. Theſe iſſued into the baſe court, through a pryue poſtme, and ſharpely viſited the Aſſailants with Halbeards and ſwordes. Here the fight grew hot, the darkenes and danger terrifying ſome and animating others. Blowes flew at all adventures, woundes and deathes given and taken vnexpected, many ſcarce knowing their enimies from their friends: But ſhame wrought ſuch life and courage in the *English*, as very few of the enimies who entered the court eſcaped aliue, leauing their fellowes bleeding in their deadly wounds, yet *M^r Daſſie* not diſcouraged herewith gaue 3 liuely aſſaults more that morning, but was repelled with ſo great loſſe, that 16 Carts and Waggones were charged with carrying away their dead and dying bodies, beſides 300 left in the baſe court.

After diuers like adventures the *English* perceiving that the towne could not bee kept without danger, nor loſt without diſhonour, The *Earle of Rutland* was ſent with 3000 *Almaines* and as many borderers to demolish the towne and to bring the artillerie a way to *Barwicke*, The *Earle* not only accompliſhed his Charge but made wide waſt in his paſſage by ruine and ſpoyle, Herewith the caſtle of *Hame* was ſodenly ſurpriſed by the *Scots* and all the *English* therein either taken or ſlaine. This was effected by

meanes of certaine Scots who vsed to bring victualls to the *English* and were reputed their assured frindes, these both obseruing the weakenes of the place and orders of the garrison, discouered them to their fellowes and gaue entertainment for the surprise *Gineing* also warning to others never to trust either the curtesyes or services of those whom they haue provoked to be their enimies.

About these times *St Edward Bellingham* Lo: Deputie of *Ireland* first with great diligence and care, then credite and reputation especially gained by that service, tooke *Ocanor* and *Omor* and reduced the other seditious Lords to good subiection *Ocanor* and *Omor* guided by overlate counsaile of necessity left their Lordships and had a yeerely pension of 100^l assigned to either of them.

And now the *French* supposing that by reason partly of suspence of hostility betweene *England* and *France*, and partly of the *English* affaires in other places, matters with them would be neglected, determined to attempt a suddaine surprise of the fortresse of *Bullingberge*, to this end 7000 men were appointed vnder the conduct of *Mr Cha. Stilion* furnished with ladders and other preparations for the surprise. They marched secretly in the dead time of the night, and when they approached within a quarter of a league. On *Carter* who had beene discharged of his pay by the *English* for takeing a *French* woman to wife, and then serued vnder the *French* ranne privily before, and gaue the Alarme to those in the Forte. The *English* drewe him vp the walles betweene two pikes and vnderstanding the danger addressed the selues to their defence by reason wherof the *French* at their approach had so warne a welcome, every of the *English* contending that his valour might be noted for some helpe in the fight, that at their departure they laded 15 wagons with their dead. *Carter* himselfe adventured brauely in places of greatest danger, and receiued two great hurts in his body, *St Nicholas Arnault* the captaine was likewise hurte with a pike in the face, diuers others

others were wounded & about 25 slaine The assault continued with great obstinacy from midnight vntill somewhat after the breake of day.

Shortly after 300 *English* on foote and 25 horsemen were appointed to goe to a wood, about 2 leagues from *Bullingberge*, hauing carriages with them, for bringing certaine timber for mounting great Artillery, and some other vses when they approached neerer the edge of the woode, about 500 *French* horsemen issued forth and gaue three sharpe charges vpon them, the *English* empaled themselves with their pikes, and therewith bare off their enemies, and being lined with shot (the cruell plague of horsemen) the *French* were in such sort galled with arrowes that many were wounded *M^r Cuares* and diuers others slaine, 70 great horses lay dead in the field and one Corner was taken. The *English* fearing greater forces began to retire, and therewith appeared about 2000 *French* and *Almaines* on foote. But the *English* maintained an orderly retreat, vntill they came within fauour of the shot of *Bullingberge* and then the enemy adventured no further, & in this manner the old wounds of warre began freshly to open & bleede betweene *England* and *France*.

But in this meane time such tempests of sedition tumbled in *England* more by default of governors then the peoples impatience to liue in subiection, that not only the honour but the safetie of the state was thereby endangered. For as the commissioners before mentioned passed to diuers places for establishing of their new iniunctions, many vnflauory scornes were cast vpon the, & the further they went from *London* as the people were more vnciuill so did they more rise into insolencie & contempt. At the last as one *M^r Body* a commissioner was pulling downe images in *Cornwall*, he was sodainely stabbed into the body by a Priest with a knife.

Herevpon the people more, regarding commotioners then commissioners, flocked together in diuerse parts of

the shire as clouds cluster against a storme, and albeit iustice was afterwards done vpon the offenders, the Principall being hanged and quartered in *Smithfield*, and diuers of his chiefe complices executed in diuers parts of the Realme, albeit so ample a pardon was proclaimed for all others within that shire touching any action or speech tending to treason, yet could not the boldnesse be beaten down either with that severity or with this lenity be abated. For the mischief forthwith spread into *Wiltshire* and *Somersetshire*, where the people supposing that a common wealth could not stand without Commons, beat downe enclosures, laid parkes and fields champaine. But *St William Herbert* afterwarde *Earle of Pembroke* with a well armed & ordered company set sharply vpon them, and oppressing some of the forwardest of them by death, suppressed all the residue by feare. But their duty depending vpon feare the one was of no greater continuance then the other.

The like motions followed in *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, *Kent*, *Glocestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Essex*, *Hartfordshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Worcestershire* and *Rutlandshire*. But being neither in numbers nor in courage great, partly by authority of Gentlemen, and partly by entreaty and advice of honest persons they were reduced to some good appeasement, as with people more guided by rage then by right, yet not altogether mad, it was not vneasily. But herein happily some error was committed, that being only brought to a countenance of quiet, regard was not had to distinguish the rebellion fully. For soone after they brake forth more dangerously then before for no part could content them who aimed at all. After this the people in *Oxfordshire*, *Devonshire*, *Northfolke* and *Torkeshire* fell into the same madnes, incensed by such who being in themselves base and degenerate, and dangerous to the state had no hope but in troublesome times. To *Oxfordshire* the *Lord Gray of Wilton*, was sent with 1300 horse and foote, to who the gentlemen of the country resorted, drawing many followers

followers with them, the very name of the Lord *Gray* being knowne to be a man of great valour and fortune; so terrified the seditious, that vpon the very report of his approach, more then halfe fell away and dispersed of the residue, who being either more desperate or more sottiſh did abide in the field, many were presently ſlaine, many taken, and forthwith executed. To *Devonſhire* was ſent *John Lord Ruſſell*, Lord of the privy ſeale, whoſe forces being indeed, or being by him diſtrufte to be inferior to the importance of the ſervice, he ſate downe at *Honington*, whileſt the ſeditious did almoſt what they would, vpon this heavines of the kings forces going forward interpreted to be feare and want of mettle, divers either of the moſt audacious or ſuch as pouerty or feare of puniſhment might eaſily plunge into any miſchiefe, reſorted to the ſeditious daily from *Cornwall* and other parts, as bad humors gather to a bile, or as divers kennels flow to one ſinke, ſo in ſhort time their numbers encreaſed to 10000 tall & able bodies. They were chiefly guided by *Hamphery Arundell* a man well eſteemed for military ſeruices. About 6 others of inferior note were bold actors with him. Many prieſts vaworthy to be named were alſo impetuous and importunate incenſors of the rage, men of ſome academical learning in diſcourſe, but their mindes not ſeaſoned with any vertuous or religious thoughts.

Aſſuredly the vulgar multitude is not vnſtily termed a beaſt, with many heads not guided, I will not ſay with any proportion but portion of reaſon, violence and obſtinacy like two vntamed horſes, draw their deſire in a blinde-ſolde Carriere. They intend moſt fooliſhly what they never put in action, and often act moſt madly what they never intended, all that they know to doe, is that they know not what to doe, all that they meane to determine proues a determination and meaning to doe nothing. They attribute more to others iudgement then to their own, eſteeming bold obſtinacy for braveſt courage and impudent pra-
ting.

ting for soundest wisdom, and now being assembled into one company rather without a Lord then at liberty, to accomplish their misery they fall to division of all calamities the worst, and so broken in their desires that many could not learne either wherefore they came, or what they would haue done. Some were commonwealth mutiners, and some did mutiny for religion. They who were for the common wealth could agree vpon no certaine thing, but it was certaine they could agree vpon nothing, some would haue no iustices, some no gentlemen, some no laiers nor ordinary courts of iustice, and about all enclosures must downe, but whether all or which or how to be employed none could tell, every man regarding what he followed but not what might follow thereof. All would haue the state transformed, but Whether reformed or deformed they neither cared nor knew. They concurred only in confused clamors, every man thinking it no lesse reasonable that his opinion should be heard, then that his body should be adventured.

The religious mutiners were not altogether so various in their voices, as hauing some few spirits among them by whom they were both stirred & guided, these in the name of the people hammered vp the Articles following, & sent them to the King, vpon granting of which they professed that both their bodies & their goods should be absolutely at the kings devotion:

1 That curats should administer baptisme at all times of necessity as well on weekedaies as on holidays.

2 That their children might be confirmed by the Bishop whensoever they should within the dioces resort unto him.

3 Forasmuch as they believed that after the words of consecration noe substance of bread remaining but the reall body and blood of Christ, that the masse should be celebrated without any man communicating with the priest, for that many put noe difference betweene the Lords body and other meat, some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying that

that it is profitable to none except he receiues it.

4 That they might haue reseruatiō of the Lords body in their Churches.

5 That they might haue holy bread and holy water in remembrance of Christs precious body and blood.

6 That Gods service might be said or sang with an audible voice in the Quire and not forth like a Christmas play.

7 That Priests line chaste (as St Paul did) without marriage, who said to all honest Priests, be yee followers of me.

8 That the 6 Articles set forth by K. Henry the 8th, be so vsed as they were in his time, at least vntill the K should accomplish his full age.

Now albeit the King knewe right well that no reasons would serue for deniall, and that the yeelding to them in any thing would profit him nothing, but rather make them rise to more insolent demands, yet hee returned an answer in writing and therewith his generall pardon, in case they would desist and open their eyes to discern how their vncircumspect simplicity had bene abused especially in matters of religion, for that as some vertues resemble some vices so neere, as the one is often taken for the other, so religion and superstition doe so neerely resemble, that it was easie for men to disguise the one vnder the maske of the other, First therefore hee reprobued them fairely for their disorderly assemblies, against the peaceable people of the Realme and against the honour of his estate, fearing much that by reason of their disobedience, his lenitie should appeare to be lesse then he would haue it, also for that they vsed his name in all their writings, not only without his authoritie but even against himselfe, abusing thereby the weaknesse of many, and drawing them into societie of their euill. Then he pitied their ignorance and the errors thence arising, whereby they were allured to new hopes by some, who could not thriue so well by their honest endeavours, as by rapine and spoile, who stopped all course of law and discourse of reason to open the full floud.

gate of their vnmeasurable madnesse, who to overthrowe the state pretend libertie, but if they should ouerthrowe it all libertie were lost.

For faith he who hath borne you in hand that children even in case of necessitie cannot be baptised but vpon holidays, whereas there is no day nor houre wherein the Minister is not only permitted but commanded to baptise. By like abuse you are perswaded that many hold that the blessed Sacrament of Christs body doth nothing differ from common bread, whereas Lawes, Statutes, Proclamations, common practise agree, that common bread is only to sustaine the body but this blessed bread is food for the soule. Touching confirmation, doth any beleue that a child baptised is damned vnlesse it be confirmed? If it be baptised and also confirmed, is it saued only by confirmation, and not by baptisme? Or is it the more saued by confirmation? children are confirmed at the age of discretion to teach them what they receaued in their infancie, they are taught by confirmation to continue in that whereto they were baptised, oh how much doe they need who will never bee content? What may satisfie those who haue no limits to their desires.

As for the order of service and vse thereof in the English tongue, which you esteeme new it is no other then the old, that same words in English which were in Latine, except a few things omitted so fond, that it had bin a shame to haue heard them in English, and how can any reasonable man be offended to vnderstand what God by his word speaketh vnto them, what they by their prayers speake vnto God: If the service were good in latine, it remaines so in English, for nothing is altered but to make you vnderstand what is said, In like sort the masse with great iudgment and care was reduced to the same manner as Christ left it, as the Apostles vsed it, as the ancient Fathers receaued, practised and left it.

But you would in sober earnest haue the six Articles againe reuiued, Doe you vnderstand what you would haue,
or

or are you masters of your owne iudgment. If you vnderstand them and yet desire them, it is not long since they were enacted, and haue since drawne much blood from the subjects, ^{and} as would you haue bloody lawes againe in life, or would they any long time be endured? Vpon pittie they were taken away, vpon ignorance they are againe demanded, Verily that in the Gospell may truly bee said of you, yee aske yee knowe not what, for you neither know what good you shall haue by receiuing them, nor what euill you haue lost by their abolishing, our intention is to haue our lawes written with milke, but you would haue them written with blood. They were established by law and so observed, although with much expence of blood, they are abolished by law with sparing of blood, and that also must be obserued, for *vnlesse lawes be duly obserued, neither the authority of the Prince, nor safetie of the people can be preserved.*

And whereas you would haue them remaine in force vntill our full age, if you had knowne what you speake, you never would haue giuen breath to such an vnseasoned thought, for what is our authoritie the lesse for our age, or shall we be more King hereafter then now? or are you lesse subjects now then in future times you shall be? Verily as a naturall man we haue now youth, and by Gods sufferance expect age; but as a King we haue no difference in yeares, we are rightfull king by Gods ordinance, and by descent from our roiall ancestors, and not by any set number of yeares, and much it is to bee feared, that they who moued you to require this suspence of time, would absolutely denie our royall power, if they durst so plainly expresse themselves.

The seditious as men alwaies dangerous when they haue once broken awe, interpreted this or any other milde dealing to proceed from some faining or fainting disposition either doubting or daring most when they are most fairely entreated, and the more to enflame the popular rage,

fresh rumors were devised and divulged, that the people should be constrained to pay a ratable tax for their sheep and other cattle, and an excise for every thing which they should eat or drinke, by which and other like reports the simple were blinded, the malicious edged, all hardened from applying to any peaceable perswasion.

And now vnable to support themselves either with their own estate or by wast of villages, they aspired to the spoile and subiection of citties, and first they came to *Exeter* and demanded entrance, but the citizens as they were both ciuill and rich, so were they better advised, and therefore closed their gates, and refused to haue any entercourse with the seditious, but either by common obedience, or else by hostility and armes; the popular fury being thus stopped, swelled the more. Wherevpon they resolved to apply their endeauours for taking the citty, and either by destroying it to increase terror, or else by sparing it to winne an opinion of moderation, they had no great artillery to open a breach, and yet without reason they gaue an assault, and vsed diuers meanes to mount the walls, but the more madnesse they shewed in their attempt, with the greater losse they were driuen backe, then they fired the gates at two severall times, but the citizens at both times by casting in wood maintained the fire, vntill they had cast vp a halfe moone within, vpon which when the seditious attempted to enter they were slaine from the corners like dogges. After this they mined the walls, laid the powder and rammed the mouth, but the citizens made a countermine, whereinto they powred such plentie of water, that the wet powder could not be fired.

In the meane time the *L. Priuy Seale* lay at *Hunnington* expecting more strength, and knowing right well that as the multitude are slow to danger, so are they most desperate when they are stirred, but whilst he expected more companie, many of those he had slipped away from him. Herevpon he resolved for retaining the rest to entertaine some present

sent enterprife, and first he affailed by a by way to enter and relieue the citty, but the seditious for prevention hereof had felled all the trees betweene *S. Mary Ountry* and *Exeter*, & laid them crosse the waie in such sort as they impeached his passage, herevpon firing such places as hee thought might serue either for vse or ease to the seditious, he determined to returne to *Hunnington*. But the seditious forelaied a bridge, over which hee should passe, called *Fennington bridge*, and in a great faire meddow behinde the bridge placed a great number vnder banners displaid. The *Lord priuy seale* had but a small company in regard of the seditious. Yet with good order and courage hee attempted the bridge but could not force it, at the last finding the riuer to be fordeable at the foot of the bridge, he there set ouer his horse, wherevpon the guardes appointed to defend the bridge forsooke their charge, and retired to their strength in the meddow. Then the kings forces charged liuely vpon them, and they againe as stoutly receiued the charge, but being an vntrained multitude without either souldier or guide, they were soone broken and put to flight, yet they valued themselues and tumultuously charged vpon the kings forces, but were presently rowted and cast out of the field, the chase was not far pursued for feare of fresh succours from before the citty. Notwithstanding the seditious lost 600 of their men, and the *Lord Priuy seale* returned without losse to *Hunnington*.

At this time the seditious liued by rapine and ruine of all the country, omitting nothing of that which savages enraged in the height of their vnruely behaviour doe commit, but the Cittizens driven to great distresse for want of victuales, bread they made of coursest branne moulded in cloathes, for that otherwise it would not cleaue together. Their finest flesh was of their owne horses, especially for 12 daies they endured most extreame famine. During this time they were much encouraged by an aged cittizen, who brought forth all his provisions and said, that as hee did

communicate vnto them his store, so would he participate of their wants. And that for his part he would feed on the one arme and fight with the other before he would consent to put the citty into the seditious hands. Herewith the *Lord privy Seale* for want of power to performe any services, was about to rise and returne to *London*. But in good time the *Lord Gray* came to him with supply of forces most *Almane* horsemen, and with him came *Spinola* with his band of *Italians* consisting of 300 shot, purposed for *Scotland*, also 100 men were sent vnto him from *Reading*, so being in all not much a boue 1000 strong, he made head against the seditious. So departing from *Honington* he came to a little Village frō whence lay 2 waies towards *Exeter*, both which were blocked vp with 2 bulwarkes of earth, made by the seditious, hither they had driuen 2000 men from before *Exeter* whom they divided into 4 companies. In either of the Bulwarkes they lodged one, at the bridge neere the backe of one of the fortes, a third company was placed, the 4th was laid in ambush behinde a hedge on the high way, at the backe of the other fortresse, the *Arriere* of the kings forces led by captaine *Wauers* set vpon one of the fortes, the vaward and battaile vpon the other, *Spinola* with his shot did beare vpon those within, who offered to appeare vpon the walls. At length *Captaine Wauers* wonn the fort which he assailed, and draue the defendands to the bridge where one of their companies made stand, Herewith the other two companies did forthwith resort vnto them, one from the second fort, the other from the Ambush. These casting a strong guard vpon the bridge, marshalled the residue vpon a plaine ground behinde the bridge. The *Kings* forces coming forward draue the guard from the bridge, and making profit of the fresh terror set vpon those who were vpon the plaine. The kings footmen were firmly ranked, the troopes of horse in good array, whereas the seditious had neither weapons, order nor counsaile, but being in all things vnprovided were slaine like

like beasts. They tooke their flight towards *S^t Mary cliffe* but the souldiers vpon disdain of their vnworthy actions filled themselves with revenge and blood, and slue of them about 900 not sparing one.

This sad blow abated much the courage and hope of the seditious, and yet the next day about 2000 of them affronted the *Kings* forces at the entrance of a high way, whom when they found both ready and resolute to fight, they desired enterparlance, and in the meane time began to fortify. But vnderstanding that their intention was vnderstood, more like slaues then souldiers they furiously ran away. The same night the seditious before *Exeter* raised their seige, and therewith discharged the citty from many miseries and dispaire. The *King* afterwards enlarged the constant obedience of the citty with enlargement both of liberties and of reuenews, hee gaue vnto them the mannor of *Emiland* for a perpetuall remembrance both of their loyalty and of his loue.

Now the seditious driven almost to a dead dispaire and supported only by the vehemency of desire, brought forth their forces to *Clifton heath*, to whom many of the most vile vulgars resorted hourly, which much enlarged their numbers but nothing their strength, but what measure haue men in the encrease of madness, if they keepe not themselves from falling into it, they brought with them a crucifix vpon a carte couered with a canopie, and beset with crosses, tapers, banners, holy bread and holy water as a representation of those things for which they fought. The *Lord Gray* encouraged his men to set sharply vpon the vague villaines good neither to liue peaceably nor to fight, and to win at once both quiet to the Realme and to themselves glory, so he brought the *Kings* forces vpon them rather as to a carnage then to a fight, insomuch as without any great either losse or danger to themselves, the greatest part of the seditious were slaine, diuers also were taken, of whom the common sort were forthwith executed by martiall

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tiall law, the chiefeſt leaders were ſent to receiue iuſtice at London, Some eſcaped and ſailed to *Bridgewater*, who taking dangers to be the only remedy againſt dangers, endeauoured to ſet vp the ſedition againe, but they were ſpeedily reſſeſſed, and thereby the ſedition ſuppreſſed wholly.

The ſedition thus broken and beaten downe Sir *Anthony Kiſington* *provoſt marſhall* of the kings army was deeraed by many not only cruell but vncivill, and inhumane in his executions. One *Boyer maior* of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall* was obſerued to haue beene among the ſeditious, but by abſolute enforcement as many others were. The *Martiall* wrote to him a letter that he would dine at his houſe vpon a day which he appointed, the *maior* ſeemed glad, and made for him the beſt proviſion that he could, vpon the day he came and a large company with him, and was receiued with many ceremonies of entertainment. A little before dinner he tooke the *maior* aſide and whiſpered him in the eare, that execution muſt that day be done. in the towne, and therefore required him that a paire of gallowes ſhould be framed and erected againſt the time that dinner ſhould end; the *maior* was diligent to accompliſh his demand, and no ſooner was dinner ended, but he demanded of the *Maior* whether the worke were finiſhed, the *Maior* answered that all was ready, I pray you ſaid the *pr. veſt* bring me to the place, and therewith he tooke him friendly by the hand, here beholding the gallowes he asked the *Maior* whether he thought them to be ſtrong enough, yes ſaid the *Maior* doubtleſſe they are, well then ſaid the *provoſt* get you vp ſpeedily for they are prepared for you, I hope answered the *Maior* you meane not as you ſpeake, in faith ſaid the *provoſt* there is no remedy, for you haue beene a buſie rebell, and ſo without reſpite or defence hee ſtrangled to death.

Neere the ſaid place dwelled a *Miller* who had beene a buſy actor in that rebellion, and fearing the approach of
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the provost martiall, told a sturdy tall fellow his servant that he had occasion to goe from home, and therefore gaue directions that if any one should enquire after the miller, he should not speake of him but affirme that himselfe was the miller, and that so he had bin for three yeares before, So the provost came and called for the miller, his seruant came forth and said he was the man. The provost demanded how long he had kept the mill, these three years answered the seruant, then the provost commanded his men to lay hold on him, and to hang him on the neereest tree, then the fellow cried out that he was not the miller but the millers man, nay S^r answered the provost I will take thee at thy word, and if thou beest the miller thou art a busy knaue, if thou beest not, thou art a false lying knaue, whatsoeuer thou art thou shalt be hanged, when others also told him that the fellow was but the millers man, and what then said he? could he ever haue done his master a better service then to hang for him, and so without more to doe he was dispatched. Assuredly this might haue passed for a tollerable iest if it had not beene in a case of life.

Divers others were executed by martiall law, & a great part of the country was abandoned to the spoile of the souldiers, who not troubling themselues to discern betweene a subiect and a rebell, whilest their liberty lasted made indifferently profit of both.

The seditious in *Northfolke* were somewhat dangerous, both because their strength was greater, as also because the citty of *Norwich* was a friend vnto them, or at least wished them no great harme, and being faithfull to neither side, was alwaies ready to entertaine the stronger, their first attempt was made at *Attleborough* where they threw downe the fences of one *Greene of Wilbie*, who was supposed to haue enclosed a parte of *Attleborough* common adioining to the common pasture of *Harsham*. Afterward they assembled at a play accustomed yeerely to be kept at *Wimondham*, and from thence went to *Morley* a
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mile distant, and there cast downe the ditches of one *Hubbarde*, next by incitement of *Iohn Flowerdew of Nethefet*, a gentleman of good estate, but neuer expressing desire of quiet, they did the like to certaine enclosures of *Robert Ket* a tanner in *Wimondham*, and receiued of him 3^s 4^d for their labour, this *Ket* who hath made his obscure beginning well knownen by his mischievous attempts to require *Flowerdew* carried them to *Nethefet*; where they cast down all the enclosed pasture of *Flowerdew*, and not staying there he led them indifferently to diuers other places, laying all enclosures where hee came rather wast then open.

And the rather to traine them to his allure, he told them both often and with vehement voice, how they were ouertopped and trodden downe by gentlemen, and other their good masters, and put out of possibility ever to recover foote, how whilest rivers of riches ran into their landlords coffers, they were pared to the quicke, and fed vpon pease and oats like beasts, how being fleeced by these for privat benefit, they were slayed by publique burthens of state, wherein whilest the richer sort favoured themselves, they were gnawen to the very bones, how the more to terrify and torture them to their mindes, and winde their necks more surely vnder their arme, their tyrannous masters did often implead arrest, cast them into prison, and thereby consume them to worse then nothing, how they did palliat these pillaries with the faire pretence of authority and of law, fine workemen I warrant you, who can so closely carry their dealings, that then men only discouer them, how harmelesse counsailes were fit for tame fooles, but for them who had already stirred there was no hope but in adventuring boldly.

The likenes of affection and the masking of vices vnder pleasant tearmes, procured not only assent, but applause to all that he said, and so by often and earnest repeating of these and the like speeches, and by bearing a confident counte-

countenance in all his actions, the vulgar tooke him to be both valiant and wise, and a fit man to be their commander, being glad they had found any captaine to follow.

Their numbers encreased daily, and therewith their boldnesse and power to doe harme, they were largely supplied at the first both with victuals and armes, albeit not with open consent of the places adioining, yet with much private goodwill, for many did not only secretly favour but openly approve their designs. Generally every good man was much grieved, many vpon some dislikes before reioiced in their greater harmes, and not regarding in what liberty they stood, were ready to runne into any bondage. The *Sheriffe of Northfolke* resorted vnto them, and made proclamation in the *Kings* name, that forthwith they should peaceably depart, and had he not beene ready & his horse swift to depart in time, hee should hardly haue departed from them aliue.

After this they drew towards *Norwich* and seated themselves at *Monsholde* neere *Mount Surrey* and vpon *S. Leonhards* which hangeth ouer *Norwich*, another company seated at *Rising* neere *Lynne*, but they were dislodged by the gentlemen of the countrey, and forced to draw to their fellows at *Monsholde*. Here the maine body encamped and sent diuers light companies forth to terrifie and roue. To this place many resorted out of *Suffolke*, and from all places of *Norfolke*, many for want, but most vpon a turbulent minde, and in all places thereabout beacons were fired, and bells rung, as a roaring furtherance to his uproare, so as in short time the multitude encreased to 16000, and yet rather to be esteemed a number then an army.

Their actions were couered and disguised with mantles very vsuall in time of disorder of religio & iustice, for they had one *Coniers* for their chaplaine, a man brought vp in idle and dead studies, who both morning and evening read solemne prayers, many sermons they also had either by entreatie or enforcement. But *D^r Parker* afterwards *Arch-*

bishop of Canterbury in his sermon before them touched them for their liuing so neere, that they went neere to touch him for his life, as for iustice they had a bench vnder a tree where *Ken* vsually sate, and with him two of euery hundred whence their companies had bene raised, here complaints were exhibited and examined aswell against those of their owne company, who receiued iudgement for their offences as against any gentleman or other in the country, by commandment from hence many were very violently pulled from their houses, of who some were enforced to follow them, others were cast into prison, & happily fettered with irons, and not a few rudely and dangerously entreated, from hence also warrants were sent forth in the kings name, whereby ordinance, powder and shot were commanded out of ships and any other furniture of warre out of houses where it could be found. This tree was ever since termed the *oake of reformation*.

And now the seditious being advanced vnto the height both of their power and of their pride, presented certaine complaints to the *King*, and desired that a *herald* or some other messenger of credite may be sent vnto them to receiue articles of all those matters wherewith they concerned themselves to be grieued. The *King* tooke it for a great indignity that base traitors & theues should offer to capitulate with him as enemies law: fully holding the field, and yet knowing right well, that as good counsailes gather strength by time, so vpon a little respite euill advices either vanish or grow weaker to winne some advantage of time, returned an answer. That seeing he was ready alwaies to receiue and relieue the quiet complaints of any of his subjects, he marvailed much either vpon what opinion of necessity in themselves or of iniustice in him, they should first put themselves into armes, as a partie against him, and then present him with their bold petitions, especially at such a time when hauing fully reformed many other matters, he had lately set forth a proclamation against
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excessiue prices of victualls, and had also appointed commissioners with ample authority for diuers other things, whereof many doubtlesse had beene by that time redressed, had not these disorders giuen impediment to his designs, generally when they might well discerne both his care and endeavours to set all matters in a right frame of reformation, as might best stand both with his honour and their sureties, and with iustice and providence towards all. Touching their particular complaint for reducing lands & farmes to their ancient rents although it could not be done by his ordinary power without a parliament, yet he would so farre extend his authority roiall and absolute as to giue charge to his commissioners to trauaile with all persons within their counties, to reduce lands to their former rents whereat they were farmed 40 yeares before, and that rents should be paid at *Michelmas* then next ensuing according to that rate, & that such as would not presently yeeld to his commissioners for that redresse, should at the parliament which he would forthwith summon be overruled.

Concerning their complaint for price of wolles hee would forthwith giue order that his commissioners should cause clothiers take wolles paying only two partes of the price, wherat they were commonly sold the yeare next before, and for the other third part, the owner and the buyer should stand to such order as the parliament should appoint. At which time also he would giue order that landed men to a certaine proportion should be neither clothiers nor farmers, and farther that one man should not vse diuers occupations, nor haue plurality of benefices, nor of farmes & generally that he would the giue order for all the residue of their requests, in such sort as they should haue good cause not only to remaine quiet, but to pray for him, and to aduenture their liues in his service.

This parliament he promised should beginne in the beginning of October then next ensuing, against which time they should appoint 4 or 6 of their countey, to present bills

of their desires, and in the meane season apply themselves to their harvest and other peaceable businesse at home, and not to driue him to necessity (whereof he would be sorry) by sharper meanes to maintaine both his owne dignity and the common quiet.

These letters carrying the Kings name in the front, and the protectors with the kings signature at the foote, were sent by a *heralde* to *Monsholde*, a place guarded with great, but confused and disordered strength of the seditious, herewith also the *King* sent his generall pardon, in case they would quietly desist and dissolue. But the seditious were so farre from accepting these of any other offers of accord that herevpon they discharged the first shot against the citty, and because their Artillery being planted on a hill could little or nothing endamage the walls, they removed their batterie to a lower ground, but because their citty was weake, and the citzizens but weakely disposed against them, with no danger and little trauaile they made themselves masters thereof. Here they imprisoned the *Ma-ior* and many other of the chiefe citzizens, and ordered all things at their pleasure, but maintained the chiefe seat at *Mansholde*, where it was before. The *Maior* of *Norwich* and some other gentlemen of credite they constrained to be present at all their counsells, with intention to countenance their actions with some authority, but in no sort to be guided by them, All this time the *Kings* forces advanced but slowly, being imploied in appeasing the like disorders more neere the heart of the kingdome. So that it is most certaine, that had these seditious beene so mischievously bent as in number they were great, they might haue proued more dangerous then they were, but they aimed not at ambitious ends, their rude earthly spirits were neuer seasoned with any manly adventurous thought, and therefore they were content with a licentious & idle life, wherein they might fill their bellies by spoile rather then by labour, to this side their companies ranged in all parts
thereabouts

thereabouts, and tooke away for their vse much household-stuffe and goods, but especially they brought to their stations many droues of cattle, for besides deere out of parkes, besides beeues, besides fowles of all kinds within a few daies were brought out of the country 2000 muttens, such numbers of sheepe were daily brought in, that a fat weather was sold for 4^d. This was interpreted for a present plentie but it made such scarcitie afterwards, as could not in many yeares be repaired, *Sr Edmond Knevet Knight* with such company as he could assemble, charged vpon one of their watches by night, but he was so farre inferior vnto them, that it was esteemed a great fortune that he departed from them with his life.

But soone after the *Lord William Parre Marquis of Northampton* was sent against them with 1500 horsemen, and a small band of *Italians* vnder a Captaine named *Malatesta*, he was accompanied with the *Lord Sheffield*, the *L. Wentworth* with diuers knights and gentlemen of principall estimation, when he approached within a mile of the city, the magistrates and chiefe cittizens vpon summons, resorted to his standard, yeelded vnto him the citty sword, and professed their owne loialty, and excused others of inferior force, who neither by ignorance fauoured the seditious, or through feare durst not declare against them; with these the *Lord Marquis* entred the citty at *Saint Stephens* gate, the citty sword being borne before him, and therewith caused the chiefe cittizens to assemble in the market place, both to giue aduice and to take direction how the citty might best be defended.

In the meane time the strangers who came with him whether by appointment or by adventure, issued forth of the citty, to view both the numbers and orders of the seditious. They againe first put forth their Archers, then their horsemen, lastly a company ran furiously forth without either direction of others or iudgement in themselves, intending to haue enclosed the *Italians*, but here might haue
beene

beene a great difference betweene men practised to fight, and men accustomed only to spoile. For the *Italians* in so well advised order receiued the seditious coming rashly vpon them without either feare or skill, that diuers of the tumultuous numbers were slaine, at the last the *Italians* perceiving themselves almost invironed, cast themselves into a ring and retired backe into the citty. But they left one gentleman of their company behinde, who being overthrowne from his horse fell into the hands of the seditious, who like sauages spoiled him of his armour and of his apparell, and hanged him ouer the walls of *Mount Surrey*.

This caused the seditious to remaine the first part of the night within their station, which by reason of the nastines of the beastly multitude, might more fitly be termed a kennell then a campe. Within the citty diligent watch was kept, which was often visited and relieued. The souldiers remained in their armor all night, and kept so great a fire in the market place that all parts of the citty were lighted therewith. The seditious about midnight began to shoote off their great artillerie very liuely and thicke, hereupon the *Lord Marquis* directed part of his forces to rampart the gates and ruinous places of the walls, which the seditious espying, with a hideous roaring and rage they powered themselves vpon the citty, some endeavoured to fire the gates, some to mount ouer the walls, and some to passe the riuier, the fight continued three houres, and it is almost incredible with what rude rage the seditious maintained their assault, some being almost disable to hold vp their weapons would striue what they could to strike their enemies, others being thrust through the body with a speare, would runne themselves further to reach those who gaue them that deadly wound, at the last their obstinacy was overcome, and they returned to their cabbines with losse of 300 of their company,

The residue of the night which was not much, the souldiers

diers within the citty applied in refreshing themselves, but the next morning the seditious both with greater strength and better order entered the citty by the hospitall and began a most desperate surprise, the forces of the *Marques* albeit inferior in numbers, yet by reason of the freshnes of the place might haue beene sufficient, if they had charged in order, and together, but being scattered in the streets, they were not able to make resistance, herewith they were much endammaged by the cittizens from their houses, so as 100 of them perished, many were hurt, and the residue driven to forsake the citty, the *Lord Shiffields* horse fell with him into a ditch, whereby hee fell into the power of the seditious, and as he pulled off his helmet to shew them who he was, a butcher slew him with the stroak of a club. Divers gentlemē to the number of 30 were taken and committed to streight prison, where they were vexed alike with scarcity and scome. The seditious lost a bout seauen schoore of their company, and yet much fleshed with this successe, they spoiled many parts of the citty, and fired the houses of those whom they esteemed not to bee their friends, but the rage of the fire was at first hindred and then appeased by fall of a suddaine shower of raine, wherevpon many presaged that the flames of this sedition should neither spread farre nor long endure. The report of this repulse flying to *London*, the most made of that which was true, and many falsities added thereto. The *Earle of Warwicke* was sent with such forces both *English* and strangers, wherewith hee had appointed for seruice in *Scotland*. when he came to *Cambridge* the *Lord Marques* resorted vnto him, and also the *Lord Willoughby*, *Powes* and *Bray*, his two sonnes *Ambrose* and *Robert* and many knights and gentlemen of name, with these hee marched somewhat leasurely because the importance of the danger might make the service the more esteemed, At length hee presented his forces consisting of 6000 foote and 1500 horse before the citty vpon the plaine, and forthwith sent

to summon the seditious and to offer pardon if it would be accepted, but neither summons nor pardon was any thing regarded. In so much as when the *Kings* pardon was offered by a *herault*, a lewd boy turned towards him his naked britch, and used words sutable to that gesture, one standing by and moued with this barbarous behaviour discharged a harquebur vpon the boy, and stroke him with the shot a little aboue the reines. Hereat those seditious that seemed moderate before became desperate, and those who were desperate seemed starke mad, whence such tumults, such confused hollowings and howlings ensued, that the *heraulde* was glad to withdraw himselfe.

Then the *Earle* planted his cannon against *S^c Stephens* gate, and set pioners to worke against the brazen gate. The cannon against *S. Stephens* gate executed so well, that in short time the *Portcullis* and gate were broken, and entry opened into the city. Others entered at the brazen gate but in that entrance some were slaine. Also the *Maiors* deputy opened *Westwicks* gate where the *Earle* himselfe entred without resistance and possessed himselfe of the market place, at these entrances 130 of the seditious were slaine 60 were taken and forthwith executed by martiall law. As the *Earles* carriages were brought into the cittie neither garded nor regarded as they should, diuers of them were surprised by the seditious and driuen to *Monsholde*. At this bootie they were more ioyfull then grieved at the losse, either of the cittie or of their companions, especially for that they were supplied thereby with good store of powder and shot, wherein their want did most consist.

The *Earle* being in possession of the cittie rampared all the gates except those who opened towards *Monsholde*, wherein he planted good artillerie. But the seditious the more terrible by reason of their more desperate fury fell vpon those gates albeit without order, yet with such rude and carelesse courage and cries, that they beat backe the guardes, slew the principall gunners, carried away their artillerie.

tillerie and therewith certaine carts laden with munition, here were boies obserued to be so desperatly resolu'd as to pull arrowes out of their owne flesh, and deliuer them to be shot againe by the archers on their side, herevpon the *Earle* was enforced to blocke vp those gates as hee had done the rest, but the citty was so weake that it could hardly be defended.

For the seditious being now furnished with artillerie powder and shot battered *Bishopsgate*, and cast downe a great part of the walls vpon that side of the citty. They afterwards passed the riuer likewise and assailed the *Earles* men vpon advantage in the streets, of whom many they slew, & fired diuers places prostrating two parishes almost entirely, so they did mischiese they little cared what they did or to what end, and in such sort the danger encreased that many perswaded the *Earle* to submit courage to rage, and for a time to abandon the citty. But he not easily vincible in spirit, and well assured that hauing stopped all passages for reliefe, shortnesse of provision would in very short time draw the obstinacy of the seditious to shorter limits, drew his sword and caused others to doe the like, & (according to a souldiery custome in cases of extremity by enterchange of a kisse by every of them vpon the swords of others, sealed a resolution to maintaine the place.

Assuredly as it is advantageable to a physition to be called to the cure of a declining disease, so it is for a commander to suppress a sedition which hath passed the height, for in both alike the noxious humor doth first weaken and afterwards wast and weare to nothing, and besides it is scarce possible that a rude and ruinous multitude should continue long together, if any preuention be applied, but they will fall into irreparable wants, and so it hapned to these seditious, who after three daies, finding their provision to faile, fired their cabbines built of timber and couered with bushes, and with a broken noise betweene certaine questions and doubtfull answeres dislodged from
their

their hill, and entrenched them at the foote thereof in a valley called *Duffendale* where they invited the Earle to a present encounter, and as there hath seldome hapned any sedition within this realme, but the chiefe actors therein haue beene abused with some 'prophecies of doubtfull construction, so the seditious were moued to remoue to this place vpon a prophecy much credited among them, that they should fill it with slaughtered bodies, but whether of their enimies or of their owne it was left vncertaine, the words of the prophecy were these.

The counry Knuffes Hob, Dicke and Hick,

with clubbes and clowes shoone.

Shall fill vp Duffendale,

with slaughtered bodies soone.

The Earle being newly supplied with 1400 horse was glad that the seditious had forsaked their hill, for that his horsemen in whom consisted his greatest strength, could there performe but little service, so the next morning he sent forth all his horsemen of whom 1000 were *Almaines*, as accustomed so aduentrous in armes, his foote hee retained within the towne. The seditious ranged themselues for the fight, placing all the gentlemen whom they had taken in front every two couple together to make them sure from starting away. The Earle before he would charge sent to them an offer of a generall pardon, one or two of the principall excepted. But this more chafed the rage of those who were resolu'd either to liue or dye together & what cared they for pardon, who haue nothing but a vile and servile life to loose. For no more could be gotten from their estates, then from the shauing of an egge, wherefore in a proud scorne they answered this offer with a great shout, that stroke the kings standard bearer on the thigh, and his horse on the shoulder, Herevpon the Earle commanded his attillery to be applied, the *Almaines* also and captaine *Drury* with his troopes gaue a resolute charge, & yet with such discretion that most of the captiue gentlemen

men who were placed in the front escaped without harme, these were so well seconded by the light horse, that in short time they brake the seditious, chased them about three miles, and filled themselves with blood vntill night, there dyed of them 2000 as *K. Edward* tooke the number, but our histories report more then 3500.

In the meane time they who guarded the attillerie and baggage, enclosed themselves with carriage and a trench, and pitched stakes to beare of the approach of horses, determining to stand stily vpon their defence. The *Earle* returning from the execution, did certifie them by message, that because the *King* his master was desirous to establish peace rather by benignity then by blood, hee did assure them their pardon if they would submit, otherwise they might expect nothing but death. Answer was made that they expected nothing but death, and that they respected nothing at all, but it was by the sword if they stood vpon defence, and by the halter if they should yeelde, wherefore they made choice to dye rather as souldiers then as dogges. The *Earle* sent againe to know if they would entertaine their pardon in case he should come in person and assure it, they answered, they did conceiue him to be so honourable, that from himselfe they would most thankfully embrace it; So hee roade and caused their pardon to be read to them, and engaged his honour that it should be performed. Then seeming to respect life more then any other thing, threw away their weapons and disloyalty together, and with voices so lowd as before they were lewd wished all ioy and prosperity to the *King*.

The commander *Ket.* hauing a good horse fled away with the first, and the next day was taken with his brother *William* in a barne, and brought with a guard of 20 horsemen to *Norwich* both of them hauing made good proofe that they were no lesse peaceable to guide an army in war, then they were to governe themselves in peace. Nine of the principall were hanged vpon the tree of *Reformation*, of

whom two were sedueing prophets, a third was a most excellent cannonier, whose good skill euellie imployed did much endamage the forces of the *King*. *Robert Ket* and his brother were sent to *London*, and from thence returned to be executed in *Northfolke*. *Robert Ket* was hanged in chaines vpon *Norwich* castle, his brother *William* was in like sort executed vpon *Wimondham* steeple, but not without some murmuring. For that church dedicated to the seruice of God, and which is polluted by violent death, should be made a place of publique execution. The day of this defate of the seditious was a long time after yearely obserued for a festiual day by the inhabitants of *Norwich*, as well by cessation from labour, as by resorting to Church to giue publique thanks for their deliuerance,

About the same time another sedition was raised at *Se-mor* in the *Northbridg* of *Torkeshire* where of the chiefe mouers were *William Ombler* a gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a parish clarke, & *Steuenson* a poost. They tooke encouragement from a darke and deceivable prophecy, a common law both of obedience and peace, which did foretell that the time should arrive when there should be no King, when the nobility and gentry should be destroyed, when the Realme should be ruled by foure gouernors elected by the commons holding a parliament in commotion, which should beginne at the South and North seas of England, and that present they vnderstood to be the time, and that the rebellions in *Devonsbire* *Norfolke* and *Torkeshire* should draw together to accomplish this prophecy. The pretences were to restore the church to her ancient Rights (for that was alwaies one note in their musique) to relieue the poore, to abate the rich, and generally to disburthen the Realme of all grieuances, a seemely taske for such vndertakers.

And now for execution hereof, first by firing of beacons and ringing of bells. (as if the coast had beene assailed by enemies) they assembled about 3000 in armes, whom they drew

drew to be appliable to their purpose. Then to beginne their great worke of reformation they slew one *White a Gentleman, Sauage a Merchant* and two others of meaner quality, and left their bodies naked vpon the wild neere *Semor*. After this they passed to the *Eastriding* in *Yorke shire*, their company daily increasing like a snowball in rowling, and many they tooke with them much against their mindes. But no sooner was the kings pardon presented, but most of them fell off and dispersed, leauing *Ombler* and *Dale* almost alone. These as they were riding like mad men from towne to towne charging people in the Kings name to assemble at *Hummanby* were apprehended, and with foure others of the most tumultuous, soone after executed at *Yorke* whose speedie punishment staid others who were thought to wauer betweene obedience and revolt.

Now the *French king* supposing to make his hand by these rude rauages in *England* brake of his treaty of peace proclaimed hostilitie & denounced the same by his *Embassador* to the King. Hereupon all *French* men in *England* not *Denizens* were taken prisoners, & all their goods seized for the King. The *French King* vnderstanding that certaine *English* ships lay at *Iersey* set forth a fleete of gallies & ships intending to surprise them as they lay at Anchore. But the *English* being both vigilant & well appointed in such sort did entertaine them, that their ships departed terribly torn with losse of 1000 men at the least, The *French King* fearing least that the bad successe of this first enterprise, might both discourage his peope and bring di reputation to himselfe, forbad any report to be made not only of the euent, but of the iourney.

After this the *French King* leuied an army by lande wherewith marching towards *Bulloine*, he tooke *Blackenesse* and *Newhauen* two fortes of the *English* neere vnto *Bulloine*. This he did effect chiefly by the treason of one *Scurton* a bastard sonne of *Lord Scurltons*, and by revolt of
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diuers *Almaines*, who serued in the garrisons, who being meerely mercenarie did easily encline to the strongest.

From whence the *French King* marched towardes *Boullaine* vpon whose approach *S^t Nicholas Arnault* capitaine of *Bullingberge* holding the place not of strength to be held withdrew all the ordinance & matters of worth into high *Boullaine* and with gunpowder blew vp the Forte. So the *French King* brought his armie before *Boulline*, but because the plague raged amongst his souldiers & the weather was vnseasonable by reason of much fall of raine, he departed from his army and left *Chastilion* gouernor in his steed.

Chastilion bent his siege against the *Pierre*, which was erected in *Boulline* haven and after batterie of 20000 shot or more the breach was thought reasonable and therevpon the assault was giuen. But the same was so well encountered by the valour of the defendants, helped with advantage of place, that the obstinacy of the assailants did nothing but increase their losse, so as the first fury being broken and spent, The *French* resolved to attempt the peice no more by assault, notwithstanding they continued the seige, presented diuers skermishes & false attempts, but they spent both their labour & shot without putting the defendants in any feare. Then they planted their artillery against the mouth of the haven, to impeach supply of victualls to the towne. Yet the *English* victualers surceased not at the *Kings* adventure to bring all things necessary, vntill the end the souldiers of the towne set vpon the *French* suddenly by night, slue many of them and dismounted their pieces.

Then the *French* applied their batterie againe, wherein they sometimes spent 1500 shot in one day. But finding this to be a fruitlesse fury they afterwards vsed it more sparingly and rather vpon a shew of hostility then vpon any hope thereby to preuaile. In the meane season they charged a galley with grauel and stones, and prepared to sinke it in the midst of the haven. But the *English* tooke the

galley before it sunke and drew it to the shoare, and vsed the stones to reenforce the Pierre. After this they made faggots of light matter, mixed with pitch, tarre, tallow, rosin, powder, and wildfire, with intention to fire the ships in the haven, but that enterprife was defeated by the *Bullenois*, and their fagots taken from the *French*. During these enterfeits diuerse skirmishes passed betweene the *English* and the *French* about the frontires of *Calles*, which as they were but light, so most of them ended with disadvantage to the *French*.

And now if all these troubles had not beene sufficient to trauaile the realme of *England*, at once a great diuision fell among the nobility, so much the more dangerous, by how much the spirits were more actiue and high. And albeit the heat thereof was much appeased for a time by the great iudgement and moderation of the *King*, yet did it breake forth in the end to tragicall euent, not vpon particular persons only, but did much ouerflow and almost ouerwhelme the whole realme with disquiet, and hereof the most apparent originall was this.

The *King* had two vnckles brothers to *Queene Iane* his deceased mother, *Edward D. of Somerset Lord Protector*, & *Thomas Lord Seymer Baron of Sudley*, high Admirall of *England*, as the *Duke* was elder in yeares, so was hee more staied in behauiour. The *Lord Sudley* was fierce in courage, courtly in fashon, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty of matter, both were so faithfully affected to the *King* that the one might well be termed his sword, the other his target. The *Duke* was greatest in fauour with the people, the *Lord Sudley* most respected by the nobility, both highly esteemed by the *King*, both fortunate alike in their advancements, both ruined alike by their owne vanity and folly, whilest these two brothers held in amity, they were like two armes, the one defending the other, and both of them the *King*, but many things did moue together to dissolue their loue and bring

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them to ruine. First their contrary disposition, the one being tractable and milde, the other stiffe and impatient of a superior, whereby they liued but in cunning concord as brothers glued together but not vnited in graine, then much secret enuy was borne against them, for that their new lustre did dimme the light of men honoured with ancient nobility. Lastly they where openly minded, as hasty and soone moued, so vncircumspect and easy to be minded. By these the knot not only of loue but of nature between them was dissolued, so much the more pittie for that the first cause proceeded from the pride, the haught y hate, the vnquiet vanity of a mannish or rather of a diuelish woman.

For the *Lord Sudley* had taken to wife *Katharine Parre* *Queene Dowager* last wife to *King Henry the 8th*, A woman beautified with many excellent vertues, especially with humility the beauty of all other vertues. The *Duke* had taken to wife *Anne Stanhope* a woman for many imperfections intollerable, but for pride monstrous, she was exceeding both subtle and violent in accomplishing her ends, for which she spurned ouer all respects both of conscience and of shame. This woman did beare such invincible hate, first against the *Q. Dowager* for light causes and womans quarrells, especially for that she had precedency of place before her, being wife to the greatest Peere in the land, then to the *Lord Sudley* for her sake. That albeit the *Q. Dowager* dyed by childbirth, yet would not her malice either dye or decrease. But continually she rubbed into the *Dukes* dull capacity, that the *Lord Sudley* dissenting from him in opinion of religion, sought nothing more then to take away his life, as well in regard of the ecommon cause of Religion, as thereby happely to attaine his place. Many other things she boldly fained being assured of easie beliefe in her heedlesse hearer, alwaies fearfull and suspitious (as of feeble spirit) but then more then euer by reason of some late opposition against him. Her perswasions she cunningly

ly intermixed with teares, affirming that she would depart from him, as willing rather to heare both of his disgraces and dangers, then either to see the one or participate of the other.

The *Duke* embracing this womans counsaile (a womans counsaile indeede and nothing the better) yeelded himselfe both to aduise and deuise for destruction of his brother. The *Earle* of Warwicke had his finger in the businesse and drew others also to giue either furtherance or way to her violent desires. Being well content she should haue her minde, so as the *Duke* might thereby incurre infamy and hate. Herevpon the *Lord Sudley* was arrested and sent to the tower, and in very short time after condemned by act of parliament. And within few daies after his condemnation a warrant was sent vnder the hande of his brother the *Duke*, whereby his head was deliuered to the Axe. His owne fierce courage hastened his death, because equally balanced betweene doubt and disdain, he was desirous rather to dye at once, then to linger long vpon curtesie and in feare.

The accusations against him contained much friuolous matter, or terme them pittifull if you please. The act of parliament expresseth these causes of his attaindor. For attempting to get into his custody the person of the *King*, and gouernment of the realme. For making much prouision of mony and of victualls, for endeavouring to marry the *Lady Elizabeth* the *Kings* sister, for perswadinge the *King* in his tender age to take vpo him the Rule & order of himselfe: The proofes might easily be made because he was neuer called to his answere. But aswell the protestations at the point of his death, as the open course & carriage of his life cleered him in opinion of many. So doubtfull are all weighty matters whilest some take all they heare for certaine, others making question of any truths, posterity enlarging both *D^r Latymer* pretending all the grauity and sincerity of a professed diuine, yet content to be seruiceable

to great mens ends, declared in a sermon before the King that whilest the *Lord Sudley* was a prisoner in the Tower he wrote to the *Lady Mary* and the *Lady Elizabeth* the Kings sisters, that they should reuenge his death, which indeed the *Lady Mary* afterwards more truely did by executing the *Earle of Warwicke*, then either shce was or at that time could in particular be required. Many other imputations he cast forth, besides most doubted many knowe to be vntrue, and so whereas *Papinian* a ciuill lawyer but a heathen chose rather to dye then to defend the murth'r which the Emperor *Caracalla* had done vpon his brother *Geta*, some theologians haue beene imployed to defile places erected only for religion and truth by defending oppressions and factions, detestning their professions, and the good artes which they had learned by publishing odious vntruths vpon report and credite of others.

O wiues! The most sweete poison, the most desired euill in the world. Certainly as it is true as *Syracides* saith, that
 Cap. 25. *there is no malice to the malice of a woman*, so no mischief wanteth where a malicious woman beareth sway, a woman was first giuen to man for a comforter but not for a counsaillor, much lesse a controler and directer, and therefore in the first sentence against man this cause is expressed *because*
 Gen. 3. 17. *thou obeyedst the voice of thy wife*. And doubtlesse the projector by being thus ruled to the death of his brother seemed with his left hand to haue cut off his right. For here vpon many of the nobility cryed out vpon him that hee was a bloodsucker, a murderer, a parricide, a villaine, and that it was not fit the King should be vnder the protection of such a rauensons wolfe. Soone after it was giuen forth and belieued by many that the King was dead, wherevpon he passed in great estate through the cittie of London to manifest that he was both aliue and in good health, whether this speech were spread either by aduenture or by arte, it is vncertaine, certain it is it did something shake the strength
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of the Kings affection towards the Protector.

Besides many well disposed mindes conceiued a hard opinion of him, for that a church by *strand-bridge* and two *Bishops* houses were pulled downe to make a seat for his new building. in digging the foundation whereof, the bones of many who had beene there buried were cast vp and carried into the fields, and because the stones of those houses & the church did nothing suffice for his work, the steeple and most part of the church of *Saint Iohn of Ierusalem* neere *Smithfield* most beautifullly erected and adorned not long before by *Docray Priour* of that church was mined and ouerthrowne with powder, and the stones applied to this spacious building. And because the worke could not be therewith finished, the cloister of *Paules* on the north side of the church in a place called *Pardonme church-yard* and the *dance of death*, very curiously wrought about the cloister, and a chappell that stood in the midst of the church-yard, also the charnell house that stood vpon the south side of *Paules* (now a carpenters yard) with the chappell tombes and monuments therein were beaten downe, the bones of the dead carried into *Finsbury fields* and the stones conuerted to his building. It is constantly affirmed that for the same purpose hee intended to pull downe the church of *S. Margaret* in *Westminster*, and that the standing thereof was preserued only by his fall, assuredly as these actions were in an high degree impious, so did they draw with them both open dislike from men and much secret reuenge from God.

And now hath the *Lord Protector* played the first act of the tragedie of his life, namely his high and prosperous estate, he is now stepping into the second act, wherein he beginneth mainly to decline.

For the *Earle of Warwicke* espying opportunity shewing him selfe and knowing that in troublesome times the obedience of great persons is most easily shaken, drew about 18 of the priuy counsaile to knit with him against the *Lord*

Protector. These he did so winde vp to his purpose that they withdrew from the courte, fell to secret consultations, and walked in the citty with many servants weaponed and in new liversies, the causes thereof many coniectured but few knew. They were all desirous that the *Protectors* greatnesse should be taken lower, but none conceiued that the *Earles* malice did extend vnto death. But the *Lord Protector* as humble then as he had beene haughty before sent secretary *Peeter* to them in the *Kings* name to vnderstand the causes of their assembly, and to declare vnto them that he would thanke them for hating him in case they did it in loue to the King, intreating them for the *Kings* sake if not for his safetie yet for his quiet, that they would forbear open shew of hostility and resort vnto him peaceably that they might commune together as friends. In the meane time he armed 500 men parte of the *kings* & parte his owne, the court gates were rampard and people raised both by letters and proclamation to aide the King, and the more to encrease the present terror he removed the king by might fro *Hampton court* to *Windsor* with a company more resembling an army then a traine.

On the other side the *Lords* at *London* first taking possession of the tower sent for the *Maier* and *Aldermen* of the citty to the *Earle of Warwicks* lodging at *Ely house* in *Holborne*, here they presented themselues secretly armed, and the *Lord Rich* then *Lord Chancellor of England*, a man of quicke and liuely deliuery of speech, but as of meane birth so prone to thrust forwards the ruine of great persons, in this manner spake vnto them.

I am not ignorant into what aduventure I now plunge my selfe in speaking against a man both high in honour and great in fauour both with the King and many of the people. But my duty preuailing against respect of danger, I will plainly declare the discontentments of the Lords of his Majesties counsaile, haue already conceiued against the actions past of the Lorde Protector, as also their fears touching matters to en-
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ensue, that with your aide they may in goodtime happily remedy the one and remoue the other, assuring you all that as I will not utter any thing falsly, so will I forbear to tell many truths.

And first to touch upon his open ambition, with what good reason or purpose thinke wee did he being a man of many imperflections, as want of eloquence, personage, learning, or good wit aspire to the great offices of governing all affaires of state, fit for none but whom God hath fauoured with fitting graces. And albeit these defects might haue beene well supplied by sufficiency of others of the counsaile, yet was hee so peeuishly opiniatine and proud, that he would neither aske nor heare the advice of any, but was absolutely ruled by the obstinate and imperious woman his wife, whose ambitious and mischienous will so guided him in the most weighty affaires of the realme; that albeit he was counsailed by others what was best, yet would he doe quite contrary, least he should seeme to need their aduice, And yet this was not enough, as auarice and ambition haue neuer enough, but to adde dignity to authority, and to make sure that as no man should as in power so in title surmount him, he would be aduanced to the Degree of Duke of Somerset, which hath alwaies beene a title for one of the kings sonns inheritable to the crowne.

And albeit it may seeme a light matter to speake of bribery and extortion against him, yet his robberies and oppressions haue beene such, that no man would willingly haue adventured to commit them, vlesse he thought by treason so to assure himselfe as he could not be called to answer for them. For he hath laid his rauinous hands upon the Kings treasure and Jewels left by his Father, which were knowne to be of an inestimable value, that it might well be said euen as he had giuen forth, that K. Henry died a very poore prince, and had beene vterly shamed in case he had lined one quarter of a yeare longer.

Then also what haucke hath he made of the Kings lands and inheritance? What sales and exchanges upon pretence of necessity

necessity? And yet what a high deale hath he transported to himselfe? Without regard of others who haue employed their trauailes & estates in seruice of the King & of his deceased Father? What artes hath he vsed to spend those & spare himself against the time of his mischievous purpose. How greedily, how insatiably hath he neuer ceased the whilest to rake & gleane mony together? What shamefull sale of offices & preferments hath he made, nothing regarding the worthinesse of the person, but the worth and weight of the gift. Betraying thereby the administration of the realme into the hands both of worthlesse and corrupt men. To speake nothing the whilest of his minte at Duresme place erected & vsed for his priuate profit. To speake nothing of the great Boursisale of colledges and chantries, to speake nothing of all his other particular pillages, all which were so farre from satisfying his bottomles desires that he proceeded to fleece the whole Commonwealthe, to cut and pare it to the very quicke.

For vnder colour of warre, which either his negligence drew on or his false practises procured, he leuied such a subsidie vpon the whole realme as neuer was asked a greater at once, which should not haue needed, albeit the warres had bene iust, in case he had not imbereled the Kings treasure as he did, for besides he extorted money by way of loane from all men who were supposed to haue it, and yet left the Kings souldiers and seruants unpaid. But in all these pretended necessities, how profuse was he in his priuate expences? Carrying himselfe rather as fitting his owne greatnesse then the common good? How did he riot surfeit vpon vaine hopes, as if new supply for wast would neuer want? What treasures did he bury in his sumptuous buildings? And how foolish and fancifull were they? A fit man forsooth to gouerne a realme, who had so goodly government in his owne estate. All these things as there are but few but know, so we may be assured that hee neuer durst haue committed halfe of them with a minde to haue remained a subiect vnder the law, and to be answerable for his actions afterwards, but did manifestly intend to
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heape his mischiefs with so high a treason as he might climbe aboute his soveraigne and stand sure beyond reach of law.

And for inducement to this his traiterous designe he suborned his servants and certaine preachers to spread abroad the praises of his government, with as much abasing the noble King Henry as without impudence they could devise. Following therein the practises of K. Richard the tyrant, by depraving the Father to honour the sonne, to extinguish the love of the people to the young King, by remembring some imperfections of his Father; which example both traiterous and unnaturall who doubts but his heart was ready to follow, whose heart was ready to defame his father, and set nought by his mother (as it is well knowne) and to procure, yea labour the death of his brother, whom albeit the law and consent of many had condemned upon his owne speeches yet his earnest endeavor therein did well declare what thoughts can sinke into his unnaturall breast, & what foule shifts he would have made, rather the that his brother should have escaped death, to that end that he might remove at once both an impeachment to his poysonous purposes & a surety to the Kings life & estate. To this ende he also practised to dispatch such of the nobility as were like to oppose against his mischeivous drift, & in such sort either to encumber & weaken the rest, that they should be noe impediments to him. In the meane time he endeavored to winne the common people both by strayed curtesey & by loosenes of life, whereto he gaue not only licence, but encouragement and meanes.

And the better to advance his intents he deviseth to intangle the realme not only with outward warre that with rumor thereof his dangerous diuices might be obscured, but with inward sedition by stirring and nourishing discontentments among the nobility gentry and commons of the realme. Thus he did under pretence of such matters as all men desired might be redressed more gladly then hee, but in a more quiet and settled time. But the time seemed most convenient for him when under the sweete pretence of release and

libertie to the people might haue destroyed the Nobility and gentry, who are the defence and safety of the people, and so at pleasure haue reduced all vnder his tyrannous subiection.

Which how insupportable it would haue beene may well be coniectured by his actions already past, what pride and insolency of his men made up of naught? What instruments had he in euery shire to worke his purposes, to spread his rumors, to harken and to carry tales? And those what flatterers? What lyers? How greedily gaping for other mens linings? How vigilant to grope mens thoughts, and to pick out somewhat whereof they might complaine? and such vile vermine how deere were they to him? and namely Iohn Bonham his one hand in Wiltshire, Sir Gyles Partridge his other hand in Gloucestershire, his customer in Wells, Piers country, his minister in Deuonshire, besides many his bad conditioned minions in court, what monsters were they? How esteemed they his fauour aboue all mortall respects.

And further to accomplish his ambitious ends, he deuised to make the French king his friend, by bewraying vnto him the Kings fortresses beyond the seas, which the late noble K. Henry with great charge courage and glory, had brought vnder his power, which practise was so caryed, that no man but such as discerned nothing but did perceiue it. And that aswell by his often private conference with the French Embassadors and their secretaries, as by failing to furnish those pieces with necessarie supplies, as also by the speeches which himselfe and his servants cast abroad, that Bulloine and the fortresses about it were an vnprofitable burthen to the realme. But for the charge no man will conceiue that he wanted money to keepe them, who vnderooke so great a charge as the conquest of Scotland, and wasted euery day a 100^l vpon his phantasticall building.

Besides it hath beene often heard from his owne communication, how he intended to procure a resignation of the rights of the Kings Maiesties sisters, and others who are entitled to the possession of the Crowne, and to haue entailed the same
upon

upon his owne issue, which when he had effected, and hauing the Kings person in his power, the chaine of seneraignty could not long haue tied him short, he might haue atchieued all his ambitious intentions at will.

Wherefore surely he hath thus put on the person not only of a robber, and of a murtherer, but of a traitor to the state, since we haue evidently discovered both his lofty and bloody minde. It behoueth you to ioyne in aide with the Lords of his Maesties privy counsaile, as in extinguishing a raging fire, as in repelling a cruell enimie, for assuredly wee must either weakly yeelde to his rule and commande, or else the ambitious author must be taken away.

In the afternoone of the same day the Lord Maior assembled a common counsaile in Guildhall, where two letters arriued almost in one instant, one from the King and the Lord Protector for 1000 men to be armed for defence of the Kings person, another from the Lords at London for 2000 men to aide them in defence of the Kings person, both parties pretending alike, but both intending nothing lesse. The Recorder whose voice accordeth commonly with the Lord Chancellor did so well set forth the complaints of the Lords against the Protector, that many were inclinable to fauour their side. But one named George Stadlowe somewhat better aduiled stept vp and spake vnto them as followeth.

This businesse (right Honorable Lord Maior & the residue of this court) as it is a very high passage of state, so it is worthy of serious consideration, & that upon sodeine aduice nothing be done or detexmined them, least happily by being ser-viceable to the designs of other men whose purposes we know not, we cast our selues into the throat of danger which hitherto wee doe not see, two things I much feare in case wee afford present aide to the Lords, richer of which should cast upon vs a bridle rather for stopping a while, then for stepping or stirring too soone or too fast at their incitement. One is the certaine dangers of the city, the other the uncertaine aduenture

of all the realme.

First then if wee adioine to the Lords, whether they preuaile or not wee engulph our selues into assured danger, an example whereof I finde in Fabian whose report I entreat you all to obserue. In the time of King Henry the thurd, the Lords in a good cause for maintenance of diuers beneficiall lawes desired aide of the citiy against the King. Ayde was granted and the quarrell brought to the arbitrement of the sword. In this battaile the King and his sonne were taken prisoners, & upon their enlargement free pardon was granted not only to the Lords but the cittizens of London which was afterwards confirmed both by oath and by act of Parliament. But what followed? Was the displeasure forgotten? Noe verily, nor euer forgotten during that Kings life, for afterwards the liberties of the Citiy were taken away, strangers were appointed, governors, and the cittizens perpetually vexed, both in their persons and in their estates. So heauy and durable is the wrath of Kings. That Solomon saith: The indignation of the King is death. For it is naturall for princes to uphold their soveraignty, and to holde it in highest esteeme, in no case to endure their supream authority to be forceably either oppressed or dispressed by their subiects. Insomuch as they mortally hate such subiects as haue once attempted either to ouerrule them by power, or to cast any terror upon them. And howsoeuer they may be either constrained or content to beare saile for a time, yet are they so sure paymasters in the end, that few haue held out their lines, I will not say prosperously but safely, who haue offered enforcements against their King.

Now touching my feare for the commonwealth, I much suspect these considerations. I alwaies expect from them some lurking mischiefe, which the more cunningly it be kept in, the more dangerously it will breake forth. For albeit there be many hands in this action, yet one is the head who doubtlesse hath skille to play his owne game, and albeit the pretences giuen forth are alwaies faire, and for the publike good, yet are the secret intentions commonly ambitious, & only aime at

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private ends, yea many times the end is worse then the first intent. Because when a subiect hath obtained the hand against his prince, I will not say he will be loath, but doubtlesse it is not safe for him to giue over his advantage, wherefore I am of opinion, that for the present if wee will not be so uncurteous as to delay, and suspend our giuing aide to the Lords for a time.

Vpon this aduice the *courte* resolved to arme 100 horsemen and 400 foote for defence of the Citty. To the King they returned answer that they would be ready vpon any necessity to apply all their forces either for his defence or for his honour. But they intreated him to bee pleased to heare such complaints as were objected against the *Lord Protector* before he assembled forces in the field, which in those tempestuous times as it could not be done without great danger, so without great cause it should not: To the Lords they answered that they were ready to ioine with them in any dutifull petition to the King, but to ioine with them in armes, they could not vpon the sodaine resolve.

The next day the *Lords* at *London* dispatched a letter to the *Lords* at *Windefore*, wherein they charged the protector with many disorders both in his private actions, and in his manner of gouernment, requiring that hee would disperse the forces which he had raised, and withdraw himselfe from the King, and be content to be ordered by iustice and reason. That this done they would gladly commune with the rest of the counsaile for the surety of the Kings person, and for ordering of his estate, otherwise they would make no other accompt of them then they might trust to finde cause, and would assuredly charge them according to their demerits.

The King all this time was so farre from gouerning his Lords, that he was scarce at his owne liberty, and considering that the late rebellions had but newly-weared themselves into quiet, and fearing new rages among the vnstable

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people daily threatned, and vpon such occasion not vnlike to take flame, conceiuing also that the confederacy trenched no deeper, or that the only remedy was to seeme so to conceiue, dissolued his companies except only his garde, but charged them vpon warning to be ready, so it is most certaine that the troublesome times were a great aduantage to the *Lords*. Had the people beene well settled in subiection, or the *Protector* a man of spirit or witt, they had beene in danger to haue beene vndone, but the protector instead of vsing his authority sent secretary *Peter* (who vnder pretence of gravity couered much vntrustinesse of heart) to the *Lords* at *London*, with some secret instructions sent especially to perswade them that for a publique benefit, all either priuate guardes or vkindnesses might be laid aside. But neither did hee returne to *Windefore*, neither was any answer returned from the *Lords*. After this he wrote two letters, one in his owne name to the *Earle of Warwicke*, the other in the name of the *Lords* at *Windefore* to the *Lords* at *London*, in both which he so weakly complained, expostulated, intreated, yeelded vnder their hande, as it was sufficient to haue breathed courage into any enemy once declared against him.

And indeed herevpon the *Lords* forthwith published a proclamation vnder the hands of 17 persons, either for nobility or authority of office well regarded, wherein the causes of such calamities and losses as had lately before happened, not only by inward diuisions which had cost the liues of many thousands of the Kings subiects, and threatned more, but also by the losse of diuers pieces beyond the seas, which had beene wonn by great adventure of the late Kings person and consumption of his treasure, they perceiued that the only roote from whence those mischiefs sprung, was the euill gouernment of the *Lord Protector*, whose pride, couetousnes and ambition couered onely his priuate ends, and therefore he was deeply busied in
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his spacious and specious buildings in the hottest times of warre against *France* and *Scotland* whilest the poore souldiers and seruitors of the *King* were vnpaid, and laboured to make himselfe strong in all countries, whilest within the realme lawes, iustice, and good order preuerted, provisions for the forts beyond the seas neglected, and the *Kings* subiects by most dangerous diuisions (by his means either raised or occasioned) much disquiet. That hereupon the *Lords* of the counsaile for preuenting aswell present dangers to the *Kings* person, as the vtter subuersion of the state of the realme, concluded to haue talked to him quietly, without disturbance to the King, or to the people, for reducing him to liue within reasonable limits, and for putting order for safety of the kings person, and preservation of the commonwealth of the realme, and so to haue passed ouer his most vnnaturall and traiterous desertings without further extremities. But he knowing that he was vnable to answer for any part of his demeanour, began forthwith to spread false rumors, that certaine *Lords* had conspired against the *Kings* person, vnder pretence whereof hee leuied forces in a disordered vproare, albeit the treason rested in him and some other his complices, wherefore seeing he troubled the whole realme for accomplishing his traiterous ends, and vsed the King in his tender age for an instrument against himselfe, causing him to put his hand to many of his owne deuises, and to speake things tending to the destruction of himselfe they desired and in the *Kings* name charged all subiects not to obey any precepts, licenses or proclamations, whereunto the *Protectors* hand should be set, albeit he should abuse the *Kings* hand and seale vnto them, but to quit themselues vpon such proclamation as should proceede from the body of the counsaile, protesting therewith their faithfull hearts to the King and their loialty towards the people.

Instantly after the publishing of this proclamation the *Lords* directed their letters to *Windefore*, and addressed to the
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the King, another to the *Protector*, the third to the *household* which was openly read. The letter to the *Protector* was guiled ouer with many smooth words intimating faire promises and full of hope, but the other two did fully and fowly set forth his obstinacie, his auarice his ambition, his rash engagements into warres, in the *Kings* vnsetled, both age and estate, his negligences, his deceits, and all other insufficiencies mentioned before. Herewith *Sr Robert Wingfield* capitaine of the garde was sent from the *Lords* to *Windsore* who so well perswaded the *King* both of the loyall affection of the *Lords* towards him and of their moderate desires against the protector (who then was in presence) that partly thereby but chiefly in regard of the turbulent times the *Protector* was remoued from the *Kings* person, & a guard set vpon him vntill the next day, when the *Lords* at *London* were appointed to be there.

So the next day diuers of the counsell rode from *London* to *Windsore*, but the *Earle of Warwick* rode not with them, for he was a perfect *Master* of his craft: he had well learned to put others before him in dangerous actions, and in matters of mischief to be seene to doe least, when in very deed all moued from him. He had well learned of the ape to take nuts out of the fire with the pawe of the cat. These *Lords* comming before the *King* did againe runne ouer their complaints against the *Protector*, and also vnder colour of loue and duty aduise the *King* to beware of such as were both powerfull, ambitious, mischieuous and rich. Affirming that it would be better surety vnto him, if this great authority should be committed to many, who cannot to readily knit in will or in action, as when the whole mannage resideth in one. In the end the *Duke of Somerset* (for hereafter he must be no otherwise called) was committed into their power and committed to custody in *Beauchampe* tower within the castle.

The next day he was brought to *London* as if he had bin a captaine caried in triumph. He rode through *Holborne* between

betweene the *Earles of Southhampton* and of *Huntington*, and was followed with *Lords* and *Gentlemen* to the number of 300 mounted on horsebacke. At *Holborne* bridge certaine *Aldermen* attended on horsebacke, and the cittizens householders stood with halberds on all sides of the streets, through which he passed. At *Sopherlane* he was receiued by the *Maior*, *Sheriffes*, *Recorder* and diuers *Knights* of especiall note, who with a great traine of officers and attendants bearing halbeards carryed him forthwith to the *Tower*, all this was to beare in shew, both that the *Duke* was a dangerous man. and that the common both aide and applause concurred in his restraint.

Forthwith the *King* was brought to *Hampton* court, where all things being borne as done well, because nothing was ill taken, seauen of the *Lords* of the counsaile and 4 *Knights* were appointed by turnes to attend the *Kings* person. The *Lords* were the *Marquis of Northhampton* the *Earles of Warwicke* and *Arundell*, the *Lords Russell*, *S^t Iohn*, and *Wentworth*, the knights were these *S^t Andrew Dudley*, *S^t Edward Rogers*, *S^t Thomas Darex*, and *S^t Thomas Worth*. As for affaires of state the gouernment of them was referred to the whole body of the counsaile, Soone after the *King* rode to his house in *Southwarke*, (then called *Suffolke* place) & there dined all. After dinner he rode in great estate through the citty to *Westminster*, as if the people should be giuen to vnderstand, that nothing was deminished either from the safety or glory of the *King* by imprisonment of the *Duke*.

And now when the *Duke* had breathed a small time in the tower, certaine *Lords* of the counsaile were sent vnto him, who after a shorte preface in such termes as hate and dissimulation could temper together, remeimbring how great the amity had beene betweene them, and of what continuance: Then acknowledging what offices & seruices he had done for the commonwealth, & yet enterlacing some errors & defects, wherewith they seemed to reproach

him. Lastly they presented him certaine articles as from the residue of the priuy counsaile, desiring his present answer, whether hee would acknowledge them to be true, or else stand vpon his iustification. The articles objected against him were these.

1 That he tooke vpon him the office of Protector vpon expresse condition, that he should doe nothing in the Kings affaires, but by assent of the late Kings executors, or the greatest part of them.

2 That contrary to this condition he did hinder iustice, & subuert Lawes of his owne Authority, as well by letters, as by other commande.

3 That he caused diuers persons arrested and imprisoned for treason, murther, manslaughter, and felony to be discharged against the lawes and statutes of the realme.

4 That he appointed Lieutenants for Armies and other officers for the weighty affaires of the king under his own writing and seale.

5 That he communed with Embassadors of other realmes alone of the weighty matters of the realme.

6 That he would taunt and reprove diuers of the kings most honourable counsailors for declaring their aduice in the Kings weighty affaires against his opinion, sometimes telling them that they were not worthy to sit in counsaile, and sometimes that he needed not to open weighty matters to them, and that if they were not agreeable to his opinion, he would discharge them.

7 That against law he held a court of request in his house and did enforce diuers to answer there for their freeholde & goods, and did determine of the same.

8 That being no officer without the aduice of the counsaile, or most part of them, he did dispose offices of the Kings gift for money, grant leases, and wards, and presentations of Benefices pertaining to the King, gaue Bishopricks, and made sales of the Kings lands.

9 That he commanded Alchimie, and multiplication to be

be practised, thereby to abase the Kings coine.

10 That diuers times he openly said that the nobility and gentry were the only cause of dearth. Whereupon the people rose to reforme matters of themselves.

11 That against the minde of the whole counsaile he caused proclamation to be made concerning enclosures, whereupon the people made diuers insurrections and destroyed many of the Kings subiects.

12 That he sent forth a commission with Articles annexed, concerning enclosures, commons, highwaies, cottages, and such like matters, giuing the commissioners authority to heare and determine those causes whereby the lawes and statutes of the realme were subuerted and much rebellion raised.

13 That he suffered rebells to assemble and lie armed in campe against the nobility and gentry of the realme without speedie repressing of them.

14 That he did comfort and encourage diuers rebells by giuing them money, and by promising them fees, rewards and seruices.

15 That he caused a proclamation to be made against law, and in fauour of the rebells, that none of them should be vexed or sued by any for their offences in their rebellion.

16 That in time of rebellion he said that he liked well the actions of the rebells, and that the auarice of gentlemen gaue occasion for the people to rise, and that it was better for them to dye then to perish for want.

17 That he said, the Lords of the Parliament were loath to reforme enclosures and other things, therefore the people had a good cause to reforme them themselves.

18 That after declaration of the defaults of Bouline and the pieces there by such as did surview them, he would neuer amend the same.

19 That he would not suffer the Kings pieces of Newhauen, and Blacknesse to be furnished with men and provision, albeit he was advertised of the defaults and aduised thereto by the Kings counsaile, whereby the French King was emboldned

boldened to attempt upon them.

20 That he would neither give authority nor suffer noble men, and gentlemen to suppress rebels in time convenient, but wrote to them to speake the rebels faire, and use them gently.

21 That upon the fifth of October the present yere at Hampton court for defence of his owne private causes, hee procured seditious bills to be written in counterfeited hands, and secretly to be dispersed into diuerse parts of the realme beginning thus, Good people, intending thereby to raise the Kings subjects to rebellion and open warre.

22 That the Kings priuy counsaile did consult at London to come to him, and moue him to reforme his gouernment, but he hearing of their assembly declared by his letters in diuers places, that they were high traitors to the King.

23 That he declared vnruly aswell to the King as to other yong Lords attending his person, that the Lords at London intended to destroy the King, & desired the King neuer to forget, but to reuenge it, and required the yong Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof with intent to make sedition, and discorde betweene the King and his Nobles.

24 That at diuers times and places he said, the Lords of the counsell at London intend to kill mee, but if I dye the King shall dye, and if they samish mee, they shall samish him.

25 That of his owne head he remoued the King so sodainly from Hampton court to Windsor, without any prouision there made, that he was thereby not only in great feare but cast into a dangerous disease.

26 That by his letters he caused the Kings people to assemble in great numbers in Armor after the manner of warre to his aide and defence.

27 That he caused his seruants and friends at Hampton court & Windsor to be apparelled in the Kings armor, when the Kings seruants and garde went unarmed.

28 That he intended to fly to Iernsey and Wales and laid posthorses, and men, and a boat to that purpose.

Now albeit there is little doubt but that some of these articles were meerely deuised, others enlarged, or wrested, or otherwise inforced by odious interpretation, yet the Duke being of base golde and fearing the touch, subscribed with his owne hand, that he did acknowledge his offences contained in them, and humbly vpon his knees submitted himselfe to the Kings mercy. That in like manner he entreated the *Lords* to be a meanes to the King that he would conceiue that his offences did proceede rather from negligence, rashnes, or other indiscretion, then from any malicious thought tending to treason, and also that he would take some gracious way with him, his wife and children, not according to extremity of lawes, but after his great clemency and merey. *Written with my owne hand 23 December Anno 3^o Edw. Regis.*

To this I make no other defence, but intreat the reader not to condemne him for perishing so weakly, and for that he who should haue lost his life to preserue his honour, cast away both his life and honour together. Assuredly he was a man of a feeble stomacke, vnable to concoct any great fortune prosperous or aduers. But as the iudgement of God, and malice of a man concurre often in one act, although it be easie to discern betweene them; so is it little to be maruailed, that he who thirsted after his brothers blood, should finde others to thirst after his; Notwithstanding for that present his blood was respited, but hee was stripped of his great offices of being *Protector, Treasurer* and *Marshall*, lost all his goods and neere 2000 lande, in which estate if he had continued, the longer he had liued the more punishment he should endure, herewith it was scoffingly said that *he had eaten the kings goose and did then regorge the feathers.*

After this he sent letters to the *Lords* of the counsaile wherein he acknowledged himselfe much fauoured by them, in that they had brought his cause to be fineable which although it was to him importable, yet as hee did

neuer intend to contend with them nor any action to iustifie himselfe, as well for that he was none of the wisest and might easily erre; as for that it is scarce possible for any man in great place so to beare himselfe, that all his actions in the eye of iustice shall be blamelesse; so hee did then submit himselfe wholly to the Kings mercy, and their discretions for some moderation; desiring them to conceiue that what he did amisse was rather through rudenes, and for want of iudgement, then from any malicious meaning, and that he was therefore ready both to doe and suffer what they would appoint. Finally hee did againe most humbly vpon his knees entreat pardon, and fauour, and they should euer finde him so lowly to their honours, and obedient to their orders, as hee would thereby make amends for his former follies.

These subiections, obiections, deiections of the *Duke* made a heauenly harmony in his enemies eares. But they wrought such compassion with the King, that forthwith he was released out of the Tower, his fines discharged, his goods and lands restored, except such as had bene giuen away, either the malice of the *Lords* being somewhat appealed, or their credit not of sufficient strength to resist, within a short time after he was entertained and feasted by the King with great shew of fauour, and sworne againe of the priuy counsaile, at which time betweene him and the *Lords* perfect amity was made, or else a dissembling hate And that all might appeare to be knit vp in a comicall conclusion, the *Dukes* daughter was afterwards ioined in marriage to the *Lord Lisle* sonne and heire to the *Earle of Warwick*, and the *Earle* also was made *Lord Admirall of England*, yet many doubted whether the *Earle* retained not some secret offence against the *Duke*, which if hee did, it was most cunningly suppressed, doubtlesse of all his vertues he made best vice of dissimulation. And as this friendship was drawen together by feare on both sides so it was not like to be more durable then was the feare.

And

And thus the second act ended of the tragedie of the *Duke*, the third shall follow in the proper place.

In the meane time the *Earle of Warwicke* for what mischeiuous contriuanee it was not certainly knowne, but conceiued to be against the *Duke* ioined to him the *Earle of Arundell* late *Lord Chamberlaine*, and the *Earle of Southhampton* sometimes *Lord Chancellor*, men of their owne nature circumspect and slow, but at the time discountenanced and discontent, whom therefore the *Earle of Warwicke* singled as fittest for his purpose. Many secret conferences they had at their seuerall houses, which often held the greatest part of the night. But they accustomed to afford at other times either silence, or shorte assent to what he did propose, did then fall off and forsake him, procuring thereby danger to themselves without doing good to any other. For when the *Earle of Warwicke* could by no meanes draw them to his desires, hee found means that both of them were discharged from the counsell, and commanded to their houses. Against the *Earle of Arundell* obiections were framed that he tooke away bolts and locks at *Westminster*, and gaue away the Kings stuffe. Hee was fined at 12000^l to be paid 1000^l yeerely. But doubtlesse the *Earle of Warwicke* had good reason to suspect, that they who had the honesty not to approue his purpose, would not want the heart to oppose against it.

During these combats among the nobility many popular insurrections were assayed, One *Bell* was put to death at *Tyborne* for mouing a new rebellion in *Suffolke* and in *Essex*, hee was a man nittily needy and therefore aduenturous, esteemed but an idle fellow, vntill he found opportunity to shew his rashnesse. Diuers like attempts were made in other places, but the authors were not so readily followed by the people as others had done before. Partly because multitudes doe not easily moue, but chisly becaule misaduentures of others in like attempts had taught them to be more warily aduised. About this time a *Parliament*

was

was held at *Westminster* wherein one *Act* was made against spreading of *Prophecies* the first motiue of rebellions, and another against *unlawfull assemblies*, the first apparant acting of them. But for feare of new tumults, the *Parliament* was vntimely dissolued and *gent.* charged to retyre to their country habitations, being furnished with such forces and commissions as were held sufficient to hold in bridle either the malice or rage of reasonlesse people, yea so great grew the doubt of new insurrections that *Trinity terme* did not holde least gentlemen should by that occasion be drawn out of the country where they were esteemed to doe good seruice by keeping the *Commons* from commotions. All these mouements seemed to be pretended by mouing of the earth in diuerse places of *Sussex*.

The affaires of *England* beyond the seas all this time were caried with variable successe, *S^r Thomas Cheynie* was sent to the Emperour to treat with him, that his forces might ioine with the forces of *England* against the common enemies of them both according to the Articles formerly concluded. These articles had bin well obserued for a time especially against the *French*. But afterwards the emperour being diuerted about other preparations, and therewith much solicited by the *Scots*, not to be a helpe to ruine their kingdome fell by degrees from the K. of *England*, filling his Embassadors with emptie hopes at the first, wherein also he daily fainted and failed in the end.

In *France* the King placed the *Rhenegrane* with diuers Regiments of *Almaine*, *Lancequenots*, and certaine ensignes of *French* to the number of 4 or 5000 at the towne of *Morguison* midway betweene *Bouline* and *Calais* to empeach all entercourse betweene those two places, wherevpon the King of *England* caused all the strangers that had serued the yeere against the rebells to the number of 2000 to be transported to *Calais*, to them were adjoined 3000 English, vnder the command of *Francis Earle of Huntingdon*, & *S^r Edward Hastings* his brother to dislodge

dislodge the *French*, or otherwise to annoy them. But the *French* perceiving that the troubles in *England* were perfectly appeased, and that the *King* thereby was much strengthened in his estate, for that the vicious humors against him were either corrected or spent, finding also that he daily grew rather into admiration then loue, aswell for that it was apparant, that hee had so well improved that little stocke which his father left, as he was like to proue a thruiuer in the end, also weary in maintaining warres with *Scotland*, as well in regard of the charge, as for that his people were nothing desirous of seruice in that distant country. Lastly hauing tried aswell the strength as curtesy of the *English* nation, and doubtfull of the estates of the empire and of *Spain*, by whom not only the wings of his Kingdome had beene clipped on euery side, but the whole body thereof dangerously attempted, he resolved to fasten peace with *England* if he could.

Herevpon he dispatched to the *English* court *Guidolstian* *Italion* borne in *Florence* who made many ouertures to the *Lords* of the counsaile, but all as from the *Cunstable* of *France*, and espying with a nimble eye that matters of counsaile were chiefly swayed by the *Earle* of *Warwicke* by great gifts and gretter hopes he wrought him to be ap-
 pliable to his desires. In the end it was concluded that foure *Embassadors* should be sent from the *King* of *England* into *France*, and foure from the *French King* to treat with them that the *English* commissioners should come to *Guisnes* and the *French* to *Arde*, and that their meeting should be chiefly at *Guisnes*. The *English* yeelding to all with sincerity of minde, the *French* accepting all but with intention reserved to themselves. The *Lords* appointed by the *English* were *John Earle* of *Bedforde*, *William Lord Paget*, *Sr William Peeter*, and *Sr John Mason*. *Secretaries* of State, on the *French* side were appointed *Mounfier Rochport*, *Mounfier Chastilion*, *Guillani de Mortier*, and *Rochetele de Daffie*, in short time after the *Earle* of *War-*
 O *wicke*

wicke was made Lord great M^c another feather to his mounting minde.

The day wherein the *English* Embassadors arrived at *Calais*, *Guidoliti* resorted vnto them with a letter from *Monsieur Rochpot* whereby he signified that the *French* intended not to come to *Arde*, but desired that the *English* would goe to *Bouline*, and that the meeting might be besides the Towne. For this he alleadged that he was so weakly disposed in health that he could not trauaile farre, and that he being *Gouernor* of *Picardie* and *Chastilion* of *Newbarn* they might not depart such distance from their charge, and further that there must be much wast of time if the *English* should lye at *Guisnes* and the *French* at *Ardes*, and that the equality would be more, and the dishonour to one of the sides lesse, if the interview should be vpon the *Frontires*, then if one part should be drawen into the territory of the other.

Vpon this rubbe the *English* Embassadors thought fit to demurre, and so sent into *England* to receiue directions from the *Lords* of the counsaile. They againe referred the matter wholly to the iudgement of the Embassadors, affirming that it was a circumstance not much to bee stood vpon in case it were not vpon some finenesse, but for ease and commodity of them and their traine, which indeed they might better finde neere *Bouline* then at *Ardes*, in case also they could discerne no deepe inconuenience which might hinder the good issue of the good busines in hande, which they esteemed sufficient if in substance it might be effected, albeit in all points they had not so much of their mindes, as they then desired, and as at another time they would expect, and so the *English* Commissioners went to *Bouline*, and the *French* came to one of their forts neere to *Bouline*.

Not long before the *Emperour* had beene assailed by the *King* of *England* to aide him in defence of *Bouline* against the *French*, which he expressely refused, alleaging that

that he was not bound so to doe by conditions of the league. For that *Bouline* was a piece of new conquest acquired by the *English* since the league was made, then the *King* offered to yeelde the Towne absolutely into his hands in case he would maintaine it against the *French*, which offer also he refused to accept. At the arrivall of the *English* ambassadors the souldiers were sharply assailed with wants, There was not one drop of beere in the Towne. The bread and breadcome sufficed not for six daies. Herevpon the souldiers entred into proportion, and to give them example the *Lord Clinton* being *Lord Deputie* limited himselfe to a loafe a day. The *King* was indebted in those parts about 14000^l besides for the *Earle of Huntingdons* numbers which were about 1300 foote, besides also the increases daily rising, for the monethly pay of *English* and strangers amounted to 6000^l besides allowance for officers. Hereof the band of horsemen out of *Germany* tooke little lesse then 800^l the moneth, and the *Almains* on foote 4000^l accounting the gulden at 3^l 4^d, but accounting it more, as without a higher valuation little service & happily some mischiefe might be expected, the monethly pay to strangers amounted higher. Hereby a great error was discovered, in that the strangers for defence of *Bouline* were of greater strength then were the *English*.

Now the *English* commissioners hauing first procured some releife both for victualls & pay, prepared a tent without the towne for meeting with the *French*. But they erected a house on the further side of the water within their owne territory, in a manner halfe way betweene their forte and the rowne. The *English* perswaded the *French* to surcease their building, pretending but for their fantasies it was not necessarie, because neither their treaty was like to continue long, neither was it by solempne meeting that the businessse in hand must be effected. But in truth they feared least if peace should not follow, the *French* might in short time either with filling or massing the house, or else by fortifying

tifying make such a piece as might annoy the haue[n] of the towne. Notwithstanding the *French* not only proceeded but refused any other place of enteruiew.

At their first meeting much time was spent in ceremony of salutation. Then the commissions were read, then *M^r de Mortier* in a sharpe speech declared that the *French King* their *M^r* had vpon iust grounds entred the warre for recouery of his right, and defence of his allies, yet was he well minded for an honourable peace, so as the things for which the warre began, might be brought to some reasonable appointment; and hearing of the like disposition of the *King of England* he had sent them to treat of those affaires, nothing doubting but that the *English* would accord to the restitution of *Bouline*, and other pieces of their late conquest, which so long as they should keepe, so long they may be assured the warre would continue. He further added that *Bouline* was but a bare ruinous Towne, without territory or any other commodity to ballance the charge of defending it against the power of *France*. Lastly he said there should want no good will in them to bring matters to good appointment, hoping to finde the like affection in the *English*.

After that the *English* commissioners had conferred a while, the *Lord Paget* answered that the causes of the warre both with them and their *Allies* (whom he tooke to be the *Scots*) being iust and honourable. The towne of *Bouline* & other pieces subdued aswell by their late great master against them, as by the *K.* their then *M^r* against their *Allies* were acquired by iust title of victory, and therefore in keeping of them no iniury was offered, either to the *French King*, or to the *Scots*. But the further declaration hee left off vntill their next meeting, because both the time was spent and the tide summoned them to departe. Touching the good inclination of the *King* their *M^r* hee had declared it well by sending them thither, in whom they should finde such good conformity, that if good suc-

cesse

ceffe ensued; not the fault should be which they expected not in the *French*. Nothing else was done sauing a surcease of hostility concluded for 15 daies, which was proclaimed in both the frontiers.

At the next meeting the *Lord Paget* spent much speech in setting forth the *King of England's* title to *Bulloine* and to his debts and pension from the *French king*, with all arrearages; together with the iustice of his warre against the *Scots*. The *French* were as earnest in maintaining the contrary, wanting no words whatsoever their reasons were. For betweene great Princes, the greatest strength carrieth the greatest reason. At the last *Mr de Mortier* roundly said that to cut off all contentions of words, he would propose two means for peace. All that for old matters of pensions, debts and arrearages, the *English* should make white books and neuer mention them more, but for *Bulloine* to set the higher value, (or else said he) let old quarrells remaine, so as your right may be reserued to clime, and ours to defende. And let vs speake frankly of some recompence for *Boulloine*. As for the *Scottish Queene*. (For this had beene also mentioned before) our *King* is resolved to keepe her for his sonne and therefore we desire you to speake thereof no more, but of what other points you please, so as we may draw shortly to an end.

The *Lord Paget* answered for the other commissioners that they had greatest reason to desire a speedy end, but the matters whereupon they stood were of greater importance then to be determined vpon the sodaine. For said he you may make doubts as you please. But if the debt to our *King* be not iust, being confessed, iudged, sworne, and by many treaties confirmed, wee know not what may be deemed iust, neither is it a summe to be slenderly regarded being 2000000 crownes cleere debt, besides 12000 crowns resting in dispute. The iustice of the warres against *Scotland* he maintained aswell in regarde of breach of treatise with themselves as for that contrarie to their comprehen-

sion in the last treaty of *France* they had iauaded *England* in these entercourses, the whole afternoone being spent, it was agreed that both parties should advise vpon such matters as had beene propounded vntill the next meeting.

But the *French* either hauing or supposing that they had aduantage ouer the *English* partly by reason of their firme intelligence in the *English* court, and partly because they found the *English* commissioners much yeelding to their desires, as first in cumming into *France*, then to *Bouline*, lastly to a house of their owne erecting began to be stiffe and almost intractable, sharply pressing both for speedie resolution and short times for meetings. But *Guidoltsi* continually traualled to draw both parties to conformity, the *French* being willing to be entreated by their friend to their most dissembled desires. *Guidolty* in steed of the *Queene of Scots* propounded that the *French kings* daughter should bee ioyned in marriage to the King of *England*, affirming that if it were a drie peace, it would hardly be durable, but hereto the *English* gave no inclinable eare. Then he deliuered 17 reasons in writing, for which he said it was necessarie for the *English* to conelude a peace. The *English* demanded how many reasons he had for the *French*; he answered that he had also his reasons for them, which he intended likewise to deliuer in writing.

At the next meeting the *French* shewed themselves as before peremptory and precise, standing stily vpon their owne ouertures, which they had they said no commission to exceede, and therefore they refused to treat either of the pension or debt demanded by the *English*, and declared themselves rather desirous then willing to breake off the treaty. The *English* answered that before their comming *Guidoltsi* had declared from the *French King* that so as *Bulloine* might be rendred, all that was owing from him to the King of *England* should be paid, which *Guidoltsi* being present affirmed to be true; well said they
what

what our King told *Guidoltri* we know not, but to vs hee hath giuen no other comission then you haue heard, which in no case wee must exceede. As for the pension whereof you speake, thinke you that a King of France will be tributary to any? No, No, assure you he will not, and touching the debt because the K. of *England* gaue occasion to the warres wasted the *French* Kings countrey, & thereby caused him to expend such summes of mony as exceeded the debt, he tooke himselfe to be acquitted thereof.

Hereto the *English* answered that the *French* King might take matters as he pleased, but in honour iustice, and conscience no debt was more due, and the warres being made for deniall thereof, he could not be for that cause acquitted. That the pension was also granted vpon diuers causes both weighty and iust, and amongst other by reason of the King of *Englands* vncontrouleable title to *Normandie Gascoine* and other parts of *France*. Here they were interrupted by M^r *Rochepot*, who brake forth into warme words, and was againe as warmly answered, but the *French* would nothing moue from their owne ouertures which they stood vpon by way of conclusions.

At the last the *English* said that they might doe well to report these differences to their *Masters* on both sides & that their pleasures might therein be knowne. Hereto the *French* answered that they knew their Kings pleasures so well, that if they should send to him againe, he would and might thinke them of small discretion. and herewith they offered to breake. The *English* told them that if they would breake they might, but they intended to conclude nothing vntill they had further instructions from *England*; which they would procure as soone as they could. To this the *French* did easily incline.

These matters aduertised into *England* much troubled the counsaile, and the rather for that the *Earle of Warwick* was at that time retired, pretending much infirmity in his health. Hereupon many sinister surmises began to spring

spring vp among some of the counsaile, partly probable & parte happely denied, for as they knew not whether hee were more dangerous present or away; so as the nature of all feare is they suspected that which happened to be the worst. From hence diuerse of the counsaile began in this manner to murmur against him.

What said they is he neuer sicke, but when affaires of greatest weight are in debating? Or wherefore else doth hee withdraw himselfe from the company of those who are not well assured of his loue? Wherefore doth he not now come forth and openly ouerrule, as in other matters hee is accustomed? Would he haue vs imagine by his absence that he atteth nothing? Or knowing that all mouth from him, shall wee not thinke that he seeketh to enioy his owne ends, which bearing blame for any euent? Goe to then; let him come forth and declare himselfe, for it is better that should finde fault with all things whilest they are doing, then condemne all things when they are done; with those and the like speeches he came to counsaile more ordinary then before, and at last partly by his reasons and partly by his authority, peace with France was esteemed so necessarie, that new instructions were sent to the English Embassadors, according whereto peace was concluded vpon these articles.

1 That all titles and climes on the one side and defences on the other should remaine to either party as they were before.

2 That the faulte of one man (except he were unpunished) should not breake the peace.

3 That prisoners should be deliuered on both sides.

4 That Bouline and other pieces of the new conquest, with all the ordinance except such as had beene brought in the English should be deliuered to the French within 6 moneths after the peate proclaimed.

5 That ships of merchandise might safely passe and ships of warre be called in.

6 That the French should pay for the same 200000 crownes of the summe, euery crowne valued at six shillings 8d within

within three daies after the deliury of the towne, & 200000 like crownes more upon the fifth day of *August*. then next ensuing.

7 That the English should make no new warres upon Scotland, unlessse new occasions should be given.

8 That if the Scots raised Lords and *Dunglassie*, the English should raise *Roxborough* and *Aymouth*, and no fortification to be afterwards made in any of those places.

To these articles the French King was sworne at *Amiens*, the King of England at *London*; Commissioners being especially appointed to take their oaths, and for further assurance 6 Hostages were deliured for the French at *Ards* and 6 for the English at *Guisnes*, and it was agreed that at the deliury of *Bulloime* the English hostages should be discharged, & that vpon the paiment of the first 200000 crownes 3 of the French hostages should be discharged, and other 3 vpon paiment of the last 200000 crownes. In the peace the Emperor was comprised in case he would consent, and further to cut off future contentions, commissioners were appointed both by the English and French to make certaine the limits betweene both territories. Other commissioners were appointed summarily to expedite and determine all matters of piracie and depredations betweene the subiects of both kingdoms, whereby many had not only liued but thrived many years before.

So the Lord *Clinton* gouernor of *Bulloime* hauing receiued his warrant, discharged all his men except 1800 and with them issued out of the towne, and deliured it to *Mr Chastilion* hauing first receiued of him the 6 English hostages, and an acquittance for deliury of the towne, and safe conduct for his passage to *Calais*. These 18000 men were afterwards placed vpon the frontires betweene the Emperor and the English. Soone after the first paiment of money was made by the French to certaine English commissioners wherevpon 3 of their hostages were discharged, the other three namely *Count de Anguien* next heire

to the crowne of *France* after the Kings children, the *Marquis de Meaux* brother to the *Scottish Queene*, and *Montmorencie* the constables sonne who at that time chiefly guided the affaires of *France*, came into *England*. They were honourably accompanied and with great estate brought to *London*, where euery of them kept house by himselfe.

Of the monies of the first paiement 10000^l was appointed for *Calais* 8000^l for *Ireland*, 10000^l for the *North*, and 2000^l for the *Nauie*, the residue was carefully laid vp in the *Tower*. Likewise of the second paiement (wherevpon the hostages aforementioned returned into *France*) 8000^l was appointed for *Calais* 5000^l for the *North*, 10000^l was emploted for encrease towards outward payments, certaine persons vndertaking that the mony should bee doubled euery * moneth, the residue was safely lodged in the tower.

* Or hap-
pely yeare.

And now it remained that the chiefe actors in this peace (whatsoever their aimes were) must be both honoured & enriched with great rewards, & first *Guidotti* the first mouer of the treaty was recompenced with knighthood, 1000 crownes rewards, 1000 crownes pension & 250^e pensio to his sonne. The *Earle of Warwick* was made generall warden of the *North*, had 1000 markes land granted to him and 100 horsemen of the Kings charge. *M^r Herbert* his chiefe instrument was made president of *Wales* and had a grant of 500^l land, and thus whether immoderate fauours breed first vnthankfulnesse and afterwards hate, and therewith ambitious desires, or whether God so punisheth immoderate affections, it often happeneth that men are prone to raise those most who worke their ruine in the end. Also the Lord *Clinton* who had bene deputie of *Bul-loine* was made Lord Admirall of *England*. The captains and officers were rewarded with lands, leases, offices and annuities, the ordinary souldiers hauing all their pay, and a moneths pay ouer were sent into their countries, and great charge.

charge giuen that they should be well obserued, vntill they were quietly settled at home. The light horsemen & men at armes were put vnder the *Marquis of Northhampton* captaine of the *Pensioners*. All the garde of *Bulloine* were committed to the *Lord Admirall*. The chiefe capitaines with 600 ordinaries were sent to strengthen the *Frontiers of Scotland*. Lastly strangers were dispatched out of the realme, who after some idle expence of their monies & time were likest to be forward either in beginning or in maintaining disorders.

Presently after this agreement of peace. The *Duke of Brunswicke* sent to the *King of England* to offer his seruice in the *Kings* warres with 10000 men of his bande, and to entreat a marriage with the *Lady Mary* the *Kings* eldest sister. Answer was made touching his offer of aide, that the *Kings* warres were ended. And touching marriage with the *Lady Mary* that the King was in speeche for her marriage with the *Infanta of Portugall*, which being determined without effect, he should fauourably be heard. Vpon this also the *Emperors Embassadors* did expostulate with the *King* that he had broke his league with the *Emperor*. To this the *King* answered that because the *Emperor* failed in his performances the *King* was enforced to provide for himselfe. The *Embassador* desirous as it seemed to make a breach, demanded boldly that the *Lady Mary* should haue the free exercise of the masse. This did the *King* not only constantly deny, but herevpon sermons were encreased at court and order taken that no man should haue any benefice from the *King* but first he should preach before him, and in short time after vnder pretence of preparing for sea matters 3000^l were sent to relieue Protestants beyond the seas, and further because the *Emperor* made diuers streight lawes against those of the religion. Merchants were charged to forbear their trade into *Flanders* so much as they could. So as it appeares, had some of the *English nobility* beene either lesse powerfull or more

faithfull then they were, the King had eares enough and hands enough aswell at home as among good friends abroad, either to haue maintained warres against the *French* or to haue reduced them to a more honourable peace.

Warres being thus at good appointment, peaceable busines was more seriously regarded, and whereas an *Embassador* arriued from *Gostane King of Sweden* to knit amity with the King for entercourse of merchants. At last these articles were concluded.

1 That if the King of Sweden sent Bullion into England he might carry away English commodities without custome.

2 That he should carry Bullion to no other Prince.

3 That if he sent *Ozimus, Steele, copper, &c.* he should pay custome for English commodities as an English man.

4 That if he sent other merchandise he should haue free entercourse paying custome as a stranger.

The mint was set to worke so as it gained 24000^l yearly to the King, which should beare his charges in *Ireland* and bring 10000^l to the treasure. 400 men were sent into *Ireland* and charge giuen that the lawes of *England* should there be administred, & the mutinous be seuerely suppressed. Verily it may see ne strange that among all the horrible hurries in *England*, *Ireland* was then almost quiet. But besides that the King drew much people from thence for seruice in his warres, who happely would not haue remained quiet at home, the gouernors at that time were men of such choice, that neither the nobility disdained to endure their commande, nor the inferior sort were suppressed to supply their wants.

Further 20000^l weight was appointed to be made so much baser as the King might gaine thereby 160000^l. Agreement was also made with *Torke M^r* of one of the mints, that he should receiue the profit of all the Bullion which himselfe should bring, and pay the Kings debts to the value of 120000^l and remaine accountable for the rest, paying six shillings 8^d the ounce vntill the exchange were equall.

equall in *Flanders* and afterwards six shillings 8^d and further that he should declare his bargain to any that should be appointed to ouersee him, and leaue off when the King should please, that for this the King should giue him 15000^l in prest, and license to transport 8000^l beyond the seas to abase the exchange. Herewith the base monies formerly coined were cried downe.

Now it is certaine that by reason of the long hostility which *England* held against *Scotland* and *France*, peace was not so hardly concluded as kept. But albeit occasions of breach were often offered, yet the iudgement & moderation of both parts sufficed either to auoide or appease them. The *Bishop of Glasco* comming into *England* without safe conduct was taken prisoner. The *French Embassador* made means to the King for his discharge, but answere was made that the *Scots* had no such peace with the *English* that they might passe without safe conduct. This was not denied by the *Mr of Erskine*, whereupon the *Archbishop* was retained prisoner, but after a short time remitted to his liberty. After this the *Queene Dowager* of *Scotland* going from *France* to her countrey, passed through *England* but the *French Embassador* first obtained her safe conduct, she arriued at *Portsmouth* and was there encountered by diuers of the *English* nobility of highest quality and estimation as well for doing her honour as for that hauing such pledges she neede not feare, at *London* she sojourned 4 daies being lodged in the *Bishops* pallace, and defraied at the charge of the Citty, in which time she was roially feasted by the King at *Whitehall*. At her departure she was attended out of the Citty with all ceremonies pretending to state, the Sheriffes of euery shire through which she passed receiued her accompanied with the chiefe gentlemen of the countrey, as also they conueied her from one shire to another (making alwaies prouision for her entertainment vntill shee came into the borders of *Scotland*.

The *Earle of Maxwell* came with a strong hand to the borders

borders of *England*, against certaine families of *Scots* who had yeilded to the King of *England*, and the Lord *Dacre* brought his forces to their aide, in which seruice his valour and discretion did equally appeare. For albeit the gentlemen of those families did often skirmish with the *Earles* men, and slew many of them, yet were they neuer therein aided by the *English*, neither would they assaile him vpon any aduantage. But when any of these gentlemen were distressed by the *Earle* the *English* did then encounter him by armes. Generally the *English* would not offer to offend the *Scots*, but only in defending their friends.

About this time the *French king* sent *Monsieur Lansat* to request of the King of *England*, that the fishing of *Tweede*, *Edrington*, the debatable ground, and the *Scottish* Hostages which had beene sent into *England* in the time of King *Henry* the 8th might be restored to the *Scots*, and that the *English* prisoners who were bound to pay their ransomes, before the peace should not be comprised in the conditions thereof. The King sent *Sr William Pickering* to declare to the *French King*, that to the last demand he agreed without exception, and albeit he had to the places required, yet he was content as well for them as for other demands, to performe whatsoeuer should be agreed on by commissioners on both sides, so commissioners were appointed and the matters settled in quiet agreement.

In the meane time the King sent new supply of forces and other prouisions into the *North* parts of the Realme, wherevpon the *French King* sent a nauic of 160 saile into *Scotland*, laden with graine, powder, and ordinance, of these 16 of the greatest perished vpon the coast of *Ireland*, two charged with Artillery and 14 with graine, the residue so shaken and torne, that it gaue a maine checke to their further designs, but because many saued themselves in the harbors of *Ireland*. The King sent thither 4 ships, 4 barks, 4 pinnaces, and 12 victualers. These possessed themselves of

of three hauens, two on the south side towards *France* and one towards *Scotland*. The Lord *Cobham* was appointed *Generall lieutenent*, who fortified those hauens and drew downe the chiefeſt forces of the country towards the south parts thereof, and thus euen in peace either of the Kings ſo vigilantly obſerued euery motion of the other, as if they had liued vpon the *Alar*me. The will of friends is beſt aſſured when they haue no power to doe hurt.

In *France* a difference did riſe about a place called *Fines wood*, whether it pertained to the *English* or to the *French*. On the *French* part 800 men aſſembled at armes vpon this quarrell, on the *English* 1000. But the readines of the *English* to fight moued the *French* to abſtaine from blowes, and to permit the *English* to enioy their ground. Herevpon the King fortified *Calais* and his other pieces in *France*, in ſuch ſort as they had neuer bene in like condition of defence. And whereas one *Steward* a *Scot* was apprehended in *England* and imprifoned in the Tower, for intending to poiſon the young *Queene of Scots*, the King as well to manifeſt his iuſtice as his loue and reſpect towards the young *Queene*, deliuered him to the *French* King vpon the frontiers of *Calais* to be iuſticed by him at his pleaſure.

And yet this aduice was not approued by many, for albeit it be both honourable and iuſt, that they who offend againſt their proper prince, ſhould be deliuered to him to be puniſhed, yet is it growne out of common uſe. And for this cauſe the condition is often expreſſed in leagues, that the ſubiects of one *Prince* ſhould be deliuered by the other in caſe they be required, the contrary cuſtome may happily holde reaſonable in ordinary offences, in which caſe the Scripture forbiddeth to deliuer a ſlaue to his angrie Lord, but in grieuous and inhumane crimes, in ſuch as ouerthrow the foundation of ſtate, in ſuch as ſhake the ſurety of humane ſociety, I conceiue it more fit that offenders ſhould be remitted to their *Prince* to be puniſhed in the place where they haue offended. But

But of all other the Kings amity with the *Emperor* was least assured, being as fullest both of practise and distrust, so in danger euery houre to dissolue. Certaine ships were appointed in the *Lowe Countreys* with men and furniture futable to the attempts to transport the *Lady Mary* either by violence or by stealth out of *England* to *Antwerpe*. Diuerse of her gentlemen departed thither before, and certaine shipheres as they are termed, were discouered to view the *English* coast. Hereupon *S^r Iohn Gates* was sent with forces into *Essex* where the *Lady* then lay, and besides the *Duke of Somerset* was sent with 200 men, the *Lord Prinyseale* with other 200, and *M^r Sentlegier* with 400 men more to seuerall coasts vpon the sea; diuerse of the *Kings* ships were addresssed to be in readines for the sea. *M^r Chamberlaine* *Embassador* for the *Queene* of *Hungarie* in the *Lowe Countries* aduertised by his letters, that it was intended by this means to raise an outward warre to ioine with some sedition within dores, & that the *Queene* of *Hungarie* had openly saide, that the Shipheres were towards; who for feare of one gentleman durst not proceede in their attempt. Vpon these either dangers or feares the *Lord Chancellor* & *Secretary Peeter* were sent to the *Lady Mary*, who after some conference brought her to the *Lord Chancellors* house at *Lyes* in *Essex* and from thence to *Hunsdon*. and from thence to the *King* at *Westminster*. Here the counsell declared vnto her how long he had permitted her the vse of the *Masse*, and perceiuing by her letters how vn moueable she was, he was resolued no longer to endure it, vnlesse she would put in hope of some conformity within short time. To this she answered that her soule was Gods, and touching her faith as shee could not change so she would not dissemble it. Reply was made that the *King* intended not to constraîne her faith, but to restrain the outward profession thereof, in regard of the danger the example might draw. After some other like interchange of speeches the *Ladie* was appointed to remaine with

with the *King*, but *D^r Mallet* her chaplaine was committed prisoner to the fleete, and almost herewith arriued an *Embassador* from the *Emperor*, with a menacing message of warre, in case his cozen the *Lady Mary* should not be admitted the free exercise of the masse. The *King* presently aduised with the *Archbishop* of *Canterburie*, and with the *Bishops* of *London* and *Rocheſter* who gaue their opinion that to giue license to sinne was sinne, but to continue at sinne might be allowed in case it were neither to long nor without hope of reformation. Then was answere giuen to the *Embassador* that the *King* would send to the *Emperor* within a moneth or two to giue him what satisfaction should be fit.

In the meane time the counsaile considering how preiudiciall it would be to the realme if the subiects should loose their trade in *Flanders*, that the *Flemmings* had cloath for a yeere in their hands, that the *King* had 300 quintals of powder and much armor in *Flanders*, and the merchants much goods at the woll fleete, they aduised the *King* to send an *Embassador* legier for the *Emperor*, as well to satisfie him for other matters by him required, as to winne time, thereby both to prepare a mart in *England* and to withdraw their goods out of *Flanders*. So *M^r Worſton* was dispatched with particuler instructions to desire the *Emperor* to be lesse violent in his requests. And to aduertise him that the *Lady Mary* as she was his cozen, so was she the *Kings* sister, and which is more his subiect, that seeing the *K.* was a soueraigne *Prince* without dependancy vpon any but *God*, it was not reason that the *Emperor* should entermiddle either with ordering his subiects, or with directing the affaires of his realme. Thus much hee offered that what fauour the *Kings* subiects had in the *Emperors* dominions for their religion, the same should the *Emperors* subiects receiue in *England*. The *Emperor* perceiuing that his threats were little regarded, regarded little to threaten any more.

About the time that the *Lady Mary* should haue beene transported vnto *Antwerp*, a rebellion was attempted in *Essex* where she then lay. For furtherance whereof speeches were cast forth, that strangers were arriued in *England*, either to rule or to spoile the naturall inhabitants, vpon this surmise many appointed to assemble at *Chelmsforde*, and from thence to make pillage as their wants or wanton appetites should leade, but the *Principall* being put to death and the residue pardoned, all remained quiet. Many *Londoners* also hunting after riot and ease, contriued to tumult vpon *May* day, pretending grieuances and fears from strangers, but because where many are. of counsaile counsell is hardly kept, the enterprise was discovered and defeated before it was ripe, herewith *Lyon, Gorran & Ireland* persons of meane condition but desperate and discontent, endeauoured to raise a rebellion in *Kent*. They often met and had conferences both priuate and long. They seemed highly busied in minde, and their heads trauiailing with troubled thoughts, which they often dissimbled with impertinent speeches, this was first discovered by one of their seruants, doubtfull whether before knowing the mischiefe, and vntill then secret or ignorant befoore, and then first apprehending suspitions. So they were apprehended and after conuiction the danger determined by their deaths. Herewith rumors were raised of great discord and practises among the nobility, for this cause the *Lords* assembled at *London*, and feasted diuers daies together, giuing order to apprehend the reporters of these surmises, albeit happely not altogether vntrue. For this cause gentlemen were newly commanded to remaine in the country, to gouerne the people easy to be dealt with whilest they stand in feare.

The *King* being thus vncertaine of the faith both of his subiects and of his confederats, intended by aliance to strengthen himselfe. To this purpose one *Borswicke* was sent to the *King of Denmarke* with priuate instructions to treat

treat of a marriage betweene the *Lady Elizabeth* the Kings sister and the *King of Denmark* eldest sonne. But this *Lady* albeit she was furnished with many excellent endowments both of nature and education, yet could shee neuer be induced to entertaine Marriage with any.

After this the *Lord Marquis of Northampton* was directed with a solemne embassage to the *French King*, aswell to present him with the order of the garter, as to treat with him of other secret affaires, with him were ioyned in commission the *Bishop of Elie*, *Sr Phillip Hobbie*, *Sr William Pickering*, *Sr Iohn Mason* knights, and *Mr Smith* secretary of state. The *Earles of Worcester*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond* were appointed to accompany them, and likewise the *Lords Lisle*, *Fitswater*, *Bray*, *Abergauennie*, and *Tuers*, with other knights and gentlemen of note to the number of 26 and for auoiding immoderate and burthensome traine, order was giuen that euery *Earle* should haue foure attendants, euery *Lord* three, euery *Knight* and *Gentleman* two, The commissioners were not limited to any number.

They arriued at *Nants* and were there receiued by *Mounfier Chastilion* and by him conducted to *Chasteau Bryan* where the *French King* then lodged, they were twice banquetted by the way, and the neerer they approached to the castle, the more encreased the resort of the *French* nobility to doe them honour, being come to the court they were forthwith brought to the King abiding then in his bedchamber. Here the *Marquis* presented vnto him the order of the garter, wherewith he was presently inuested, and thereupon gaue for the garter a chaine worth 200^l and his gowne addressed with aglets esteemed worth 25^l.

Then the *Bishop of Ely* in a short speech declared how desirous the *King of England* was not only to continue but to encrease amity with the *French King*. That to this purpose he had sent the order of the garter to be both a testimony and tye of loue betweene them, to which purpose

pose chiefly those societies of honour were first deuised. He further declared that they had commission to make ouerture of some other matters, which was like to make the concord betweene the Kinges & their realmes not only more durable, but in all expectation perpetuall desiring the King to appoint some persons enabled with authority to treat with them.

To this speech the *Cardinall of Lorraine* answered that the *French King* was ready to apprehend and embrace all offers tending to encrease of amity, and the rather for that long hostility had made their new friendship both more weake in it selfe, & more obnoxious to ielosies & distrusts, and therefore he promised on the Kings behulse that commissionrs should be appointed to treat with them about any matters which they had in charge, praying to God that it might be a means not only to assure but to enlarge their late settled loue, so a commission went forth to the *Cardinall of Lorraine* and *Chastilion* the Constable, the *Duke of Guise* and certaine others; at the first the *English* demanded that the young *Queene of Scots* might be sent into *England* for perfection of marriage betweene *K. Edward* and her, but hereto the *French* answered that they had taken too much aduenture, and spent too many liues vpon any conditions to let her goe, and that conclusion had beene made long before for her marriage with the *Dolphine of France*. Then the *English* proposed a marriage between their King and the *Lady Elizabeth* the *French Kings* eldest daughter, to which the *French* did cheerefully encline.

So after agreement that neither partie should be bound either in conscience or in honour vntill the *Ladie* should accomplish 12 yeares of age, they fell to treat of the portion which should be giuen with her in marriage. The *English* first demanded 150000 crownes, and offered that her dowrie should be so great as *K. Henry* the 8th had giuen with any of his wiues. The offer of dower was not disli-

ked

ked, but for the portion some of the *French* wondred, others smiled, that so great a summe should be demanded. The *English* descended to 1400000 crownes & after by degrees fell so low as 800000, but the *French* as they held the first summe to be vnreasonable, so all the other they esteemed excessive. Then the *English* demanded what the *French* would giue, first they offered 100000 crownes, afterwards 200000, which they said was the most & more the euer had bin giuen with a daughter of *France*, they followed a stiffe contention both by reasons, & precedents, but the *French* in no case would rise any higher, only they agreed that the *French* K. at his proper charge should send her to the K. of *England* 3 moneths before she should accomplish her age for marriage, sufficiently appointed with Jewells, apparell, & furniture for house, & that bands for the performances should then be deliuered at *London* by the K. of *England* and at *Paris* by the *French* King, and that in case the Lady should not consent after she should be of the said age for marriage, the penalty should be 150000 crownes, the *French* set downe these offers in writing, and sent them to the King of *England*.

Soone after *Monsieur le Marshall* and other commissioners were sent by the *French* King into *England*, where they arriued at such time as the sweating sicknesse was most furious, a new strange & violent disease; for if a man were attached therewith he dyed or escaped within 9 houres, or 10 at the most. if he tooke cold he dyed within 3 houres. if he slept within 6 hours (as he should be desirous to doe) he dyed rauing, albeit in other burning diseases that distemper is commonly appeased with sleepe. It ragged chiefly among men of strongest constitution and yeares, of whom 120 perished in some one day within the liberties of *London* few aged men or children or women died thereof. Two of *Charles Brandons* sonnes, both *Dukes* of *Suffolke*, one of the King; Gentle men and one of his groomes died of this disease. For which cause

the King remoued to *Hampton* court with very few followers.

The same day the *Marshall* and other *French* commissioners were brought by the *Lord Clinton* Lord *Admirall* of *England* from *Grauesend* to *London*. They were saluted by the way with all the shot of more then 50 of the *Kings* great ships, and with a faire peale of Artillery from the Tower, and lastly were lodged in *Suffolke* pallace in *Southwarke*, and albeit they had more then 400 gentlemen in their traine, yet was not one of them nor any other stranger in *England* touched with the sweating disease, and yet the *English* were chased therewith not only in *England*, but in other countries abroad, which made them like tyrants both feared and auoided wherefoeuer they came.

The next day the *French* were remoued to *Richmond* whence euery day they resorted to *Hampton* court, where the *King* remained, the first day after they had performed the Ceremonies of court, and deliuered to the *King* their letters of credence, they were led to a chamber richly furnished for their repose, the same day they dined with the *King*, and after dinner being brought into an inner chamber, the *Marshall* declared that they were come not only to deliuer vnto him the order of *S^c Michaell*, but therewith to manifest the entire loue which the *King* his *Master* beare him, which he desired him to conceiue to be no lesse then a father can beare to his naturall sonne. That albeit diuers persons either witlesse or malicious raise diuers vaine rumors to draw the *King* as it is thought from his *Masters* friendship, yet he trusted that the *King* would not listen vnto them. That it much concerned the common quiet, that good officers be placed vpon the Frontiers, for as good may doe good in moderating things amisse, so euill will doe euill albeit no bad occasion be offered. Lastly he desired in case any new controuersie should arise it might be determined by commissioners on both sides and not by conflicts the parent of warre.

To this the *King* both suddenly and shortly answered, that he much thanked the *French King* for his order, as for the large expression of his loue, which he would be ready in all points to requite. Touching rumours they are not alwayes to be credited, nor alwayes to be contemned, it being no lesse vaine to feare all things, than dangerous to doubt of nothing, and in case at any time hee listned to them, it was only to prouide against the worst, and neuer to breake into hostilitie: concerning officers, he appointed such as hee esteemed good, and yet preferred the ouer-doubtfull before the ouer-credulous and secure, new controuersies he would alwaies be readie to determine by reason rather than by force, so farre as his honour should not thereby be diminished.

The *French* after this returne to their lodging at *Richmond*, and the next day resorted againe to the King, inuested him with garments of the order, and accompanied him to the Chappell, the King going betweene the *Marshall & de Guise*, both which after the Communion kissing his cheek. The residue of that day and a few dayes following were passed ouer with pastimes and feasts. At the last the *Lord Marquis of Northampton* and the residue, who had beene formerly sent with commission from the King into *France*, were appointed to treat with the *French* Commissioners touching the great matters of their Embassage. And because the *French* could be serued no higher than their offer of 200000. crownes it was accepted. The one moitie to be paid vpon the day of marriage, and the other six moneths after, the Dote was agreed to be 10000. markes of *English* money, and not to be paid in case the King should die before marriage. This agreement was reduced into writing, and deliuered vnder Seale on both sides: at the same time an *Embassador* arriued out of *Scotland*, to demand an exemption of the articles of peace betweene *England* and *France*, vnder the great Seale of *England*, which without any difficultie they obtained.

The *Marshall*, at his taking leaue, declared to the King how kindly his *Master* did conceiue of the Kings readiness to conclude this treaty, and also commended his *Masters* great inclination to the agreements thereof. Then presented *Mounſier Boys* to be *Embaſſador Legier* for *French*, and the *Marquis* presented *Mr. Pickering* to be *Embaſſador* for the King of *England* in *France*. The reward of the *Marshall* was three thousand pound in gold, besides a *Diamond* taken from the Kings finger, esteemed worth an hundred and fifty pound; *Mounſier de Guy* had 1000 *Mounſier Chenault* 1000^l. *Mr. Mortuillier* 500^l. the *Secretary* 500^l. and the *Bishop of Periguer* 500^l. The feaſtiues were exceeding ſumptuous, and at their returne they were waſted ouer the ſeas by certaine of the Kings ſhips, becauſe of the warre betweene the *Emperour* and the *French King*. The *Lord Marquis* reward was afterwards delivered at *Paris*, worth 500^l. the *Bishop of Ely* 200^l. *Sir Ph. Hobbies* 150^l. and ſo were the rewards of the reſt.

Now the King ſuppoſing his eſtate to be moſt ſafe, which indeed it was moſt vnſure. In teſtimony both of his love and of his loue aduanced many to new titles of Honour. The *Lord Marquis Dorſet*, a man for his harmeleſſe ſimplicitee, neither miſliked nor much regarded, was created *Duke of Suffolke*, the *Earle of Warwick* was created *Duke of Northumberland*, the *Earle of Wiltſhire* was created *Marquis of Wincheſter*, *Sir William Herbert*, *Lord Cardiffe*, was created *Earle of Pembroke*, *Sir Thomas Darcie*, *Vice-chamberlaine*, and *Captaine of the Guard* was created *Lord Darcie*; *William Cecil* was made one of the chiefe *Secretaries*; *Maſter Iohn Cheeke*, the *Schoole-maſter*, and one of the guides of his induſtrious hope, and with him *Mr. Henry Dudley*, and *Mr. Robert Newill* of the *Princke Chamber*, were made *Knights*, which was the accompliſhment of miſchiefe, *Sir Robert Dudley* one of the *Duke of Northumberland*s ſonnes, and his heire both of his hate againſt perſons of Nobility & of the

cunning to dissemble the same, was sworne one of the six ordinary *Gentlemen*, he was afterwards for lust and cruelty a monster of the court, as apt to hate, so a most sure executioner of his hate, yet rather by practise then by open dealing, as wanting rather courage then wit. After his entertainment into a place of so neere seruice the *King* enjoyed his health not long.

The *Duke of Northumberland* being now inferior vnto none of the nobility in title of honour, and superior to all in authority and power could not restraîne his haughty hopes from aspiring to an absolute command. But before he would directly leuill at his marke, the *Duke of Somerset* was thought fit to be taken away, whose credid was so great with the common people, that although it sufficed not to beare out any bad attempt of his owne, yet was it of force to crosse the euill purposes of others.

And now to begin the third act of his tragedie, speeches were cast that he caused himselfe to be proclaimed *King* in diuers countries, which albeit they were knowne to be false, insomuch as the millers seruant at *Battlebridge* in *Southwarke* lost both his yeares vpon a pillory for so reporting, yet the very naming of him to be *King*, either as desired by himselfe or by others esteemed worthy, brought with it a distastfull rellish apt to apprehend suspicion to be true.

After this he was charged to haue perswaded diuers of the nobility to chooise him *Protector* at the next parliament. The *Duke* being questioned, neither held silence as he might nor constantly denie it, but entangled himselfe in his doubtfull tale. One *Whaly* a busy headed man, and desirous to be set on worke gaue first light to this appeachment, but the *Earle of Rutland* did stoutly auouch it.

Herewith *St Thomas Palmer* a man neither louing the *Duke of Somerset* nor beloued of him, was brought by the *Duke of Northumberland* to the *King*, being in his garden.

Heere he declared that vpon *S^c George* day last before, the *Duke of Somerset* being vpon a iourney towards the North, in case *S^c William Herbert* M^r of the horse had not assured him that he should receiue no harme, would haue raised the people, and that he had sent the *Lord Gray* before to know who would be his friends, also that the *Duke of Northumberland*, the *Marques of Northampton*, the *Earle of Pembroke*, and other *Lords* should be inuited to a banquet, and if they came with a bare company to be set vpon by the way, if strongly, their heads should haue beene cut off at the place of their feasting, he declared further that *S^c Ralph Vane* had 2000 men in a readinesse, that *S^c Thomas Arundell* had assured the tower, that *Seymor* and *Hamond* would waite vpon him, and that all the horse of the *Gendarmorie* should be slaine. To this M^r *Secretary Cecill* added, that the *Duke* had sent for him and said that he suspected some ill meaning against him, whereto M^r *Secretary* answered, that if he were not in fault, hee might trust to his innocencie, if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him.

The *Duke* being aduertised of these informations against him by some who had some regard of honestie did forthwith desie the *Secretary* by his letters. Then he sent for *Sir Thomas Palmer*, to vnderstand what he had reported of him, who denied all that he had said, but by this hot & humorous struing he did but draw the knots more fast.

A few daies being passed the *Duke* either ignorant of what was intended, or fearing if he seemed to perceiue it, came to the court, but somewhat later then he accustomed, and as too mindes possessed with feare, all things vnusuall seeme to menace danger, so this late coming of the *Duke* was enforced as a suspicion against him, and so after dinner he was apprehended. *Sir Thomas Palmer*, *Sir Thomas Arundell*, *Hamonde* *Nudigates*: *Iohn Seymor* and *Danid Seymor* were also made prisoners, the *Lord Gray* being newly come out of the country was attached. *S^c Ralph Vane* being

ing twice sent for fled, vpon the first message it was reported that he said that his *Lord* was not stout, and that if he could get home he cared not for any, but vpon pursuit he was found in his seruants stable at *Lambeth* couered with straw, he was a man of a fierce spirit both sodaine & bold, of no euill disposition sauing that he thought scantnesse of estate too great an euill. All these were the same night sent to the tower except *Palmer*, *Arundell*, and *Vant*, who were kept in the court well guarded in chambers apart. The day following the *Dutches of Somerset* was sent to the Tower, no man grieuing thereat because her pride and basenesse of life ouerballanced all pittie, and doubtlesse if any mischiefe were then contriued, whereof many were doubtfull (euery one giuing forth as he belieued) it was first hammered in the forge of her wicked working braine, for shee had alwaies wicked instruments about her, whom the more she found appliable to her purposes, the more fauours she bestowed vpon them, who being engaged by her into dangers held it dangerous to fall from her, also with her were committed one *Crane* and his wife, and her own chamberwoman. After these followed *S^r Thomas Holdcroft*, *S^r Miles Partridge*, *Sir Michaell Stanhope*, *Wingfield*, *Banister*, *Vaughan*, and some others. In diuers of these was then neither any cause knowne or afterwarde discovered, but the number raised the greater terror, and doubled the conceit of the danger.

Sir Thomas Palmer being againe examined added to his former detection, that the *Gendarmorie* vpon the muster day should be assaulted by 2000 foote vnder *Sir Ralph Vane*, and by 100 horses of the *Duke of Somersets*, besides his friends which should stand by, and besides the idle people which were thought inclineable to take his part, that this done he would runne throw the cittie and proclaime liberty, and in case his attempt did not succeed hee would goe to the *Ile of Wight* or to *Poole*.

Crane confessed for the most part as *Palmer* had done

and futher added that the *Lord Pagets* house was the place; where the nobility being inuited to a banquet should haue lost their heads, and that the *Earle of Arundell* was made acquainted with the practise by *S^r Michael Stanhope*, and that it had bin done but that the greatnesse of the enterprise caused delaies and sometimes diuersity of aduice, and further said that the *Duke of Somerset* once faining himselfe to be sicke, went to *London* to assay what friends he could procure. This *Crane* was a man who hauing consumed his owne estate had armed himselfe to any mischief.

Hamonde confessed that the *Duke of Somersets* chamber had beene strongly watched at *Greenwich* by night.

All these were sworne before the counsaile, and the greatest part of the nobility of the realme, that their confessions were true. and as fauourably set downe in behalfe of the *Duke*, as with a safe conscience they could, and forthwith vpon the information of *Crane* the *Earle of Arundell* and the *Lord Paget* were sent to the *Tower*, so were *Stradley*, and *S^r Albones* seruants to the *Earle of Arundell*, the *Lord Strange* voluntarily enformed, how the *Duke* desired him to moue the *King* to take to wife his third daughter the *Ladie Iane*, and that he would be his especial about the *King* to aduertise him, when any of the counsaile spake priuately with him, and to acquaint him what they said.

Herevpon to giue some publique satisfaction to the people, the *Lord Chancellor* who had words at will & wit enough to apply them, declared openly in the starre chamber all these accusations against the *Duke of Somerset*, letters were also published to all *Emperors*, *Kings*, *Embassadors*, & chiefe men in any state, wherein these matters were comprised. By other letters the muster of the *Gendarmerie* was deferred for certaine moneths, other letters were directed to *Sir Arthur Darcy* to take charge of the tower, and to discharge *Sir Arthur Markham*. For that without acquainting

ing any of the *Lords* of the counsaile, he suffered the *Duke of Somerset* to walke abroad and permit entercourses of letters betweene *Dauid Seymor* and *M^r Poynes*.

Whilest these matters were in trauerse, messengers arriued from *Duke Maurice* of Saxony, the *Duke of Mickleburge*, and *Iohn Marques* of *Brandenburge*, *Princes* of the religion in *Germanie*, to vnderstand the *Kings* minde whether he would agree to aide them with 400000 dollars in case any necessity should assaile them, they consenting to doe the like to him in case he should be ouercharged with warre, the *King* gaue them an vncertaine answer, but gentle and full of faire hopes, that because their message was only to know the *Kings* inclination, and not to conclude he could giue them no other answer then this, that he was well enclined to ioyne in amity with them whom he knew to agree with him in religion, but first he was desirous to know whether they could procure such aide from other *Princes* as might enable them to maintaine their warres, and to assist him if need should require, and therefore he willed them to breake this matter to the *Duke of Prussia* and other *Princes* about them, and to procure the good will of *Hamborough*, *Lubecke*, and *Breme*, then he desired that the matter of religion should be plainly set downe, least vnder pretence thereof warres should be made for other quarrells, lastly he willed that they should furnish themselues with more ample instructions from their *Lords* to commune and conclude of all circumstances pertaining to that businesse.

The *Kings* answer was framed with these vncertainties and delaies, least if the *King* had assured his consent at the first, it might haue beene taken as breach of league with the *Emperor*, afterwards they and other *Princes* of *Germany* made a league offensive and defensive with the *French King* against the *Emperor*, into the which the *French King* desired the *King of England* to come, but because the *French K.* was the chiefe of the league, the *King* did plain-

ly perceiue that the warre was not for the cause of religion, wherefore he answered that he could not doe it without breach of his league with the *Emperor*, against whom hauing no pretence of hostility, he was not so desirous of warres as without iust cause of his owne to pull them vpon him.

About the same time the *Lord admirall* was sent into *France* as the *Kings* deputie to be Godfather at the baptisme of the *French Kings* sonne, also a *French* man who had committed a murder at *Diepe*, and fled into *England* was remitted into *France*. and deliuered vpon the borders to receiue iustice by the same lawes against which he had offended.

And now the *Duke of Northumberland* being impatient of long working wickednesse, the 4th act of the *Duke of Somersets* tragedie must not be delaied, least thereby feare abating, (as being false it could not be durable) either the *Kings* gentle disposition, or the loue which he had formerly borne to his vnkle might happily returne to their naturall working. So the *Duke of Somerset* after a short abroad in the tower was brought to his trial at *Westminster*. The *Lord William Paulet Marques* of *Winchester* and *Lord treasurer* sate as high *Steward* of *England*, vnder a cloath of estate on a bench moued three degrees, the *Peeres* to the number of 27 sate on a bench one step lower. These were the *Duke of Suffolke* and of *Northumberland*, the *Marques* of *Northampton*, the *Earles* of *Darby*, *Bedforde*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bath*, *Sussex*, *Worcester*, *Pembrooke*, and *Hereforde*. The *Barons*, *Abergauenny*, *Audely*, *Wharton*, *Euers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Louch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcie*, *Sturton*, *Windefore*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*.

First the indictments were read in number 5 containing a charge of raising men in the north parts of the realme, & at his house, of assembling men to kill the *Duke of Northumberland*, of resisting his attachment, of killing the

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Gendarmorie, of raising *London*, of assaulting the *Lords*, and deuising their deaths, when the prisoner had pleaded not guilty and put himselfe vpon triall of his Peeres, the examinations before mentioned were read, and by the Kings learned counsaile pressed against him. Hereto albe- it he was both vnskillfull and much appalled (causes suffi- cient to driue him out of matters) yet after a short entrea- ry, that words either idly or angerly spoken might not be enforced to any high crew, to the points obiected he an- swered.

That he neuer intended to raise the north parts of the realme, but vpon some brutes he apprehended a feare, which moued him to send to *Sr William Herbert* to re- maine his friend. That he determined not to kill the *Duke of Northumberland* or any other Lord, but spake of it only and determined the contrary. That it had beene a mad enterprise with his 100 men to assaile the *Gendarmory* consisting of 900, when in case he had preuailed, it would nothing haue auailed the pretended purpose, and therefore this being senselesse and absurd, must needs discredid o- ther matters, which otherwise might haue beene believed. That at *London* he neuer projected any stirre but euer held it a good place for his surety. That for hauing men in his chamber at *Greenwich* it was manifest he meant no harme, because when he might haue done it he did not, and fur- ther against the persons of them, whose examinations had beene read against him he obiected many things, desiring they might be brought to his face, which in regard he was a person of dignity and estate he claimed to be reasonable, especially against *Sr Thomas Palmer* he spake much euill, and yet in opinion of many farre short of the truth. Here- to no answere was made but that the worse they were, the fitter they were to be his instruments, fit instruments in- deed (said he) but rather for others then for me.

The fast being made the Kings learned counsaile auou- ched the law to be to assemble men with intent to kill the
Duke

Duke of Northumberland was treason, by a statute of the 3 & 4th, or *K. Edward* then raigning, made against vnlawfull assemblies, that to raise *London* or the North parts of the realme was treason, that to minde resisting his attachment was felony, that to assault the *Lords*, and to devise their deaths was felony. But vnder fauour of their iudgement the statute alleaged bears no such sense, either for treason or for felony, indeed by a statute of *K. Henry 7* it is felony for inferior persons to contriue the death of a *Lord* of the counsaile, but *Lords* are therein expressely excepted.

The *Lords* went together and first the *Duke of Suffolke* nobly said that he held it not reasonable, that this being but a contention betweene priuate subiect, vnder prentention thereof, any meane action should to draw to intention of treason. The *Duke of Northumberland* (in countenance bearing shew of sadnesse but in truth stilly obstinate) denyed that he would euer consent that any practise against him should be either imputed or reputed to be treason, yet this was not taken to proceede from modesty as he expected, but for that he could not with his honour or with reason so enforce it.

The *Marques of Northampton* was crossed and contentious with many, but neuer replied to any answere a manifest marke of no strong spirit. Some of the rest plainly brake forth that they held it vnfit that the *Duke of Northumberland*, the *Marques of Northampton*, and the *Earle of Pembroke* should be of the triall, because the prisoner was chiefly charged with practises intended against them. But hereto answere was made that a *Peere* of the Realme might not be challenged. After much variation of opinions the prisoner at the barre was acquit of treason, but by most voices (most fauouring the *Duke of Northumberland*) he was found guilty of felony. Hereupon iudgement followed that he should be hanged, but this would neuer haue gone so hard, had they not prosecuted all vnder pretence of treason,

The *Duke of Somerset* might haue craued his clerge, but he suffered iudgement to passe, thanked the *Lords* for his gentle triall, craued pardon of the *Duke of Northumberland*, the *Marques of Northampton*, and the *Earle of Pembroke*, for his ill meaning against them, and made suit for his life, in pittie to his wife, children, and seruants, and in regard of paiment of his debts. As he departed because he was acquit of treason, the axe of the tower was not openly carried, whereupon the people supposing that he was altogether acquit, shooted halfe a dozed times so loud that they were heard beyond *Charing Crosse*. It is certaine the people fauoured him the more because they saw that there was much secret hate borne against him. But as this immoderate fauour of the multitude did him no good, so will it vndoe so many as shall trust vnto it. It was told the *King* that after the *Dukes* returne to the tower, he acknowledged to certaine *Lords*, that he had hired *Bartuile* to make them away, that *Bartuile* confessed so much, and that *Hammond* was not ignorant thereof, which whether it were true, or whether deuised to make the *King* more estranged from him, of iudgement could not hold themselves assured.

About this time *Cuthbert Tonstall Bishop of Durham* a man famous in those times for learning, and integrity of life, was sent to the tower for concealment of (I know not what) treason, written to him I know not by whom, and not discovered vntill (what shall I call) the party did reueale it. But the *Lord Chaucellor Rich* hauing built a faire estate, and perceiuing what nimble ears were borne to listen after treason, also for that a parliament was towards wherein he was doubtfull what questions might arise, maue suit to the *King* that in regard of the infirmities of his body, he might be discharged of his office, giuing good example to men sometimes by their owne moderation to auoid disgrace. So he deliuered the seale at his house in great *S^t Bartholomewes* to the *Duke of Northumberland* &

the Earle of Pembroke sent by the *King* with commission to receiue it. The same seale was forthwith deliuered to Dr *Godricke Bishop* of *Ely*, a man if happily able to discharge the place, assuredly no more. It was first deliuered vnto him only during the sicknesse of the *Lord Rich*, but in short time after he was sworne *Lord Chancellor*, because as keeper of the seale he could not then execute such matters as were to be dispatched in parliament.

And now after iudgement against *Somerset* the *Lords* were not negligent to entertaine the *King* with all delights they could deuise, partly to winne his fauour, but especially to conuert his thoughts from his condemned *Vnkle*, to this end they often presented him with stately masques, braue challenges at title and at barriers, and whatsoeuer exercises or disports they could coniecture to be best pleasing to him, then also he first began to keepe hall, and the Christmas time was passed ouer with banquetings, masques, plaies, and much other variety of mirth. Often they would call him to serious affaires wherein he tooke especiall pleasure. Sometimes they would remember him how dangerous the *Duke of Somerset* was, who hauing made away his only brother, contriued the death of the chiefe of the nobility. And where (say they) would his mischief haue rested? Would it haue raged against all and left the *King* only vntouched? Verily hauing beene alwaies both cruell and false, there would haue beene no end of his mischief, and all his submissions must now be taken for counterfeited and dissembled. But his avarice and ambition once remoued, the way will be laid open to vertue and merit.

So about two moneths after his iudgement the 5th and last act of his tragedie was brought vpon the stage. When being so often exposed to fortunes mercy before he was placed by a strong guard vpon a scaffold at *tower hill*, about eight of the clocke in the morning to suffer death, & albeit straight charge had beene giuen the day before to euery

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houfholder in the citty, not to permit any to depart out of their houfes before ten of the clocke that day, yet the people the more vnruely by this restraint, by fuch thick throngs fwarmed to the place, that before feauen of the clocke the hill was couered and all the chambers which opened towards the fcafold were taken vp.

Here the *Duke* firft aduowed to the people, that his intentions had beene not only harmeleffe in regard of particular perfons, but driuing to the common benefit both of the *King* and of the Realme. Then he exhorted them vnto obedience, affuring them that no perfons could iuftly auouch their faith to God, who were not faithfull to their *King*.

But herewith behold certaine perfons of a hamlet neere who had beene warned by the *Lieutenant* of the tower to attend that morning about feauen of the clocke, coming after their hower through the pofterne, and perceiving the prifoner to be mounted vpon the fcafold, began to runne and to call to their fellowes to come away. The fodaine of their coming, the haft that they made, the weapons they carried, but efppecially the word, come away, being often doubled, moued many of the neereft to furmife that a power was come to receiue the *Duke*, whereupon many cried with a high voice. Away, Away, the cry of thofe and the coming on of the other caft amazement vpon the reft, fo much the more terrible becaufe no man knew what he feared or wherefore, euery man conceiuing that which his aftonifhed fancie did caft in his minde, fome imagined that it thundred, others that it was an earthquake, others that the powder in the armorie had taken fire, others that troopes of horfemen approached. In which medly of conceits they bare downe one another, and ioftled many into the tower ditch, and long it was before the vaine tumult could be appeafed.

No fooner was the people fetled in quiet, and the *Duke* beginning to finifh his fpeech, but vpon another idle ap-

prehension they fell to be no lesse riotous in ioy then they had beene in feare. For *S^r Anthony Browne* coming on horsebacke vpon the spurre gaue occasion, whereby many entertained hope that he brought a pardon, wherupon a great shout was raised, A pardon, A pardon, God saue the *King*. But the *Duke* expressed great constancy at both these times, often desiring the people to remaine quiet that he might quietly end his life. For said he I haue oftentimes looked death in the face vpon great aduentures in the field, he is now no stranger to me, and among all the vaine mockeries of this world I repent me of nothing more then in esteeming life more deare then I should. I haue endured the hate of great persons, so much the more dangerous because vniust. I haue incurred displeasure from inferiours, not alwaies for any great faults of mine owne, (albeit I was neuer free) but for giuing way to the faults of others, and now being constantly resolu'd, I neither feare to dy nor desire to liue, and hauing mastered all grieve in my selfe, I desire no man to sorrow for me, so hauing testified his faith to God, and his faithfulnessse to the *King*, he yeelded his body into the executioners hand, who with one stroake of the axe cut off all his confused cogitations and cares, the more pitied by the people for the knowne hate of *Northumberland* against him.

Assuredly he was a man harmelesse and faithfull, and one who neuer hatched any hopes preiudiciall to the *King*, but alwaies intended his safety and honour, but hard it is for greatnesse to stand when it is not sustained by the proper strength. The people whose property it is by excessiue fauour to bring great men to miserie, and then to be excessiue in pittie departed away grieued and afraid, and yet feared to seeme to be afraid, and for this cause chiefly did neuer beare good minde to *Northumberland* afterwards although in shew they dissemble the contrary, for nothing is more easie then to discern when people obserue great men from the heart, or when they

they doe it for fashion or for feare, and as it often happeneth that men oppressed worke reuenge after their deaths. So the remembrance of *Somerſet* much moued the people to fall from *Northumberland* in his greateſt attempt, and to leaue him to his fatall fall, whereat they openly reioyced and preſented to him handkerchiefes dipped in the blood of *Somerſet*, for whom they thought he deſerued rather late then vnderſerued puniſhment. So certaine it is that the debts both of cruelty and mercy goe neuer vnpaid, I omit the meane ſcourges of conſcience. For aſſuredly a body cannot be ſo torne with ſtripes, as a minde is with remembrance of wicked actions, but of him more hereafter ſhall be ſaid, and how his greatneſſe turned to be fortunes ſcorne.

But outwardly and for the preſent he gained a great hand ouer the nobility, who ſoone obſeruing that he was able to endanger the eſtate of the greateſt, & that the more reſpect they did beare to him, the more ſafely they liued & the more eaſily aduanced to honour, they all contended to creepe into his humor, to watch his wordes, his geſtures, his looks, & to doe that as of themſelues which they conceiued he had a deſire they ſhould doe.

But the *King* albeit at the firſt he gaue no token of any ill tempered paſſion as taking it not agreeable to maiesty, openly to declare himſelfe, and albeit the *Lords* did much helpe to diſpell any dampie thoughts which the remembrance of his vnkle might raiſe, by applying him with great variety of exerciſes and diſportes, yet vpon ſpeech of him afterwards he would often ſigh and let fall teares, ſometimes he was of opinion that he had done nothing that deſerued death, or if he had, that it was very ſmall, and proceeded rather from his wife then from himſelfe. And where then ſaid he was the good nature of a nephew? where was the clemency of a *Prince*? Ah how vnfortunate haue I beene to thoſe of my blood? My mother I ſlew at my very birth, and ſince haue made away two other bro-

thers, and happily to make away for the purposes of others against my selfe. Was it euer knowne before that a *Kinges* vnkle, a *Lord Protector*, one whose fortunes had much aduanced the honour of the realme, did loose his head for felony, for a felony neither cleere in law and in fact weakly proued? A lasse how falsely haue I beene abused? How weakly caried? How little was I master ouer my owne iudgement? That both his death and the enuy thereof must be charged vpon mee?

Not long after the death of *Somerset*, because it was not thought fit that such a person should be executed alone, who could hardly be thought to offend alone. *S^r Ralph Vane* and *S^r Miles Partridge* were hanged on tower hill, *S^r Michaell Stanhope*, and *S^r Thomas Arundell* were there also beheaded. All these tooke it vpon their last charge that they neuer offended against the *King*, nor against any of his counsaile, God knowes whether obstinately secret, or whether innocent, and in the opinion of all men *Somerset* was much cleered by the death of those who were executed to make him appeare faulty.

S^r Ralph Vane was charged with conspiring with *Somerset*, but his bold answers termed rude and ruffianlike, falling into yeares apt to take offence, either only caused or much furthered his condemnation. For besides his naturall fiercenesse enflamed by his present disgrace, he was the more free by reason of his great seruices in the field. The time hath beene, said he, when I was of some esteeme, but now we are in peace which reputeth the coward and courageous alike, and so with an obstinate resolution he made choice rather not to regard death then by any submission to entreat for life, indeed it was well knowne that he had beene famous for seruice, but therewith it was well knownen by whose fauour he had beene famous.

S^r Thomas Arundell was with some difficulty condemned, for his cause was brought to triall about seauen of the clocke in the morning, about noone the Iurors went together

gether and because they could not agree, they were shut in a house all the residue of that day, and all the night following, the next morning they found him guilty, unhappy man, who found the doing of any thing or of nothing dangerous alike.

S^r Miles Partridge, and *S^r Michaell Stanhope* were condemned as confociates in the conspiracy of *Somerset*. Both reputed indifferently disposed to bad or good, yet neither of them of that temper as to dare any dangerous fact: either because they were so indeed, or because their fauour or alliance with the dutchess of *Somerset* made them to be of lesse esteeme.

Garter K. at armes was sent to the *Lord Paget* prisoner in the tower to take from him the garter and the *George*, and to discharge him of that order. The pretence of this dishonour was because he was said to be no gentleman of blood, neither by Father nor by Mother. The *Garter* and the *George* were forthwith bestowed vpon the *Earle of Warwicke*, eldest sonne to the *Duke of Northumberland*. about this time the order was almost wholly altered, as by the statutes thereof then made it appeares.

After these times few matters of high nature or observable note happened in *England* during *King Edwards* life. Of these I will select such as I esteeme most fit for history, both as being publique, and as contained matter of some regard, not alwaies obseruing the iust order of time, but sometime coherence or propinquity of matter.

S^r Philip Hobby was sent to pay 62000 pounds at *Antwerp*, for paiement of which summe the *King* stood to diuers persons engaged. This done he went to the *Regent*, then lying at *Brussels* to declare vnto her certaine grieuances of the *English* merchants aduentures, but he receiued nothing but faire promises which proued, deceiuable. Afterwards *Monsieur de Couriers* came from the *Regent* to the *King* to vnderstand more particularly the complaints of the Merchants, and therewith to desire that her subiects ships might

might safely take harbour in any of the *Kings* hauens. For the first a note of the merchants complaints was deliuered in writing, but answer was deferred for want of instructions, an vsuall pretence in like affaires. Touching the second, answer was made, that the *King* had giuen order that *Flemmish* shippes should not be molested in any of his hauens, which appeared in that they were there alwaies rescued from the pursuit and chase of the *French*. But hee thought it not fit that more should enter his hauens at once then he had power to gouerne. Assuredly the Merchant aduenturers haue beene often wronged and wringed to the quicke, but were neuer quicke and liuely in thanks to those by whose endeauours they were freed.

The same merchants exhibited a bill at the counsaile table against the Merchants of the *Stilliard*. After answer by those of the *Stilliard*, and reply by the aduenturers, it was conceiued vpon view of diuers Charters, that the Merchants of the *Stilliard* were no sufficient corporation, and that their number, names, and nation could not be knowen. Also that when they had forfeited their liberties, *King Edward* the fourth restored them vpon condition, that they should couer no strangers goods which they had not obserued. And againe whereas at the beginning they shipped not aboue 80 cloathes after that 100, afterwards 1000, after that 6000, at that time 44000 cloathes were shipped euery yeare in their names, and not aboue 1100 by all strangers besides, wherefore albeit certaine *Embassadors* from *Hamborough* & *Lubeck* spake much in their behalfe, yet a decree was made, that they had forfeited their liberties, & were in the same condition with other strangers. And albeit they made great moanes afterwards, yet could they not procure this sentence to be reuerfed.

A commission was granted to viii *Bishops*, viii other *Diuines*, viii *Ciuilians*, and viii common *Lawyers*, and in all xxxii to set forth ecclesiasticall lawes, agreeable to the nature both of the people and of the religion then established in

in the Church of *England*, but it tooke no effect. For neither the number of the commissioners being many, nor the quality of them being persons both in great offices and diuers farre remote could afford meetings for so great a businesse. Also the difference both of possessions & of ends, did of necessity raise much difference in iudgment.

The *King* had sixe Chaplaines in Ordinary, touching whose attendance in court an order was made, that two should remaine with the *King* by turnes, and fower should trauaile in preaching abroad. The first yeare two in *Wales*, and two in *Lincolneshire*, the next yeare two in the Marshes of *Scotland* and two in *Torkeshire*. The third yeare two in *Deuonshire*, & two in *Hampshire*. The fourth yeare two in *Northfolke*, and *Essex*, and two in *Kent* & *Sussex*, & so throw all the shires in *England*, which happily did not only serue for a spirituall end, namely instruction in religion, but did also aduance a temporall purpose of peaceable obedience. For as rude vntrained mindes are not only easily drawn but inclineable of themselves to sedition and tumult, so by learning and religion men are especially both reduced and retained in ciuill quiet.

For better dispatch of businesse of diuers natures, the body of the counsaile was diuided into seuerall commissions. Some were appointed for hearing those suits which were vsually brought before the whole table, to send matters of iustice to their proper courts, to giue full deniall to such as they should not esteeme reasonable, to certify what they thought meet to be granted, and vpon allowance thereof to dispatch the parties. Others were appointed to consider of penall lawes and proclamations in force and to quicken the execution of the most principall. These were directed first to consider what principall lawes and proclamations were most needfull to be executed. Then to enquire into the countries how they were disobeyed and first to punish greatest offenders, and afterwards to proceede to the rest. Lastly that they should enquire what o-

ther disorders were either dangerous or offensive in euery shire, and either to punish the offenders or else to report their iudgement therein. Others were appointed to attend occurrences of state at large, with whom the *King* did sit once euery weeke to heare matters of greatest moment debated, because in these high passages nothing was thought to be done truly with maiesty, nothing agreeable to the dignity of the state, but in the presence of the *King*. Generally all the counsaile agreed that none of them should make suit to the *King* for land or forfeitures aboue xx^l or for reuersion of leases, or any other extraordinary matter vntill the state of his Reuenues should be further known.

Besides these commissions another went forth to ouersee and order the *Kinges* reuenues, and to cut off superfluous charges, to ouersee all courts, especially those of new erection, as the court of augmentation, and of first fruits and tenths, and to prouide that the reuenues were answered euery halfe yeare, another went forth for debts owing to the *King*, and to take accompt of paiements since the 35 of *K. Henry* the 8th, and in what manner the *King* had beene deceiued, either by not accounting or accounting falsely. Another also for taking away needlesse Boulwarkes, by vertue whereof, diuerse were demolished vpon the sea coasts, in peace chargeable and little seruiceable in warre. And further for more orderly and speedy dispatch of causes, the *King* deliuered to his counsaile these Articles following.

1 *That all suits petitions and common warrants deliuered to the priuy counsell be considered by them on mundaies in the afternoone and answered on saturdayes in the afternoone, and that those daies and no other be assigned to that purpose.*

2 *That such suits and petitions as pertain to any courts of law, be referred to those courts where properly they are triable, others to be determined with expedition.*

3 *That in making warrants for maney it be forseene, that they*

they be not for such matters as may be dispatched by warrants dormant, least by such meanes accompts should be uncertaine.

4 That upon Sundaies they interd publike affaires of the Realme, dispatch answeres to letters for good order of the State, and make full dispatches of all things concluded the weeke before. Provided that they be present at common praier.

5 That on Sunday night the Secretaries or one of them deliver to the King a memoriall of such things as are to be debated by the priny counsaile, and he to appoint certaine of them to be debated upon severall daies, viz. Munday afternoone. Tuesday, wensday, Thursday, and Friday beforenoone.

6 That on friday afternoone they shall make a collection of such things as have beene done the fower daies before, what they have concluded and what the time suffered not to peruse. Also the principall reasons which moved them to conclude of such matters as seemed doubtful.

7 That on Saturday before noone they present this collection of the King and enquire his pleasure upon all things which they have concluded, and also upon all private suits.

8 That none of the priny counsell depart the court for longer time then two daies, unlesse eight of the counsell remaine behind, and unlesse the King have notice thereof.

9 That they make no assembly in counsell unlesse they be to the number of fower at the least.

10 That if they assemble to the number of fower, and under the number of sixe, then they may reason or examine the commodities or inconveniences of matters proposed, and make things plaine which seeme diffused at the first opening, and if they agree then at the next full assembly of sixe, a perfect conclusion thereof shall be made.

11 That if there be under fower and a matter arriseth requiring expeditiō, they shall declare it to the King, but not give answer unlesse it requires extraordinary hast.

12 That if such matters shall arise as it shall please the King to heare the same debated, warning shall be given that

the more may be present.

13 That if such matter arise as cannot be ended without long debating, the counsaile shall not intermeddle with other causes untill they haue concluded the same.

14 That no priuate suit be entermedled with great affaires, but shall be heard on Mundaies only.

15 That when matters for scantnesse of time be only discussed and not brought to an end, then it shall be noted to what point the businesse is brought, and what haue bene the principall reasons, that when it shall be treated againe it may the sooner come to conclusion.

16 That intedious or difficult matters two or three or more may be appointed to prepare and report the same, that being lesse cumbrons and defuse they may the more easily be dispatched.

17 That no warrant for reward aboue 40^l. or businesse, or affaires aboue 100^l passe but vnder the Kings signet.

18 That if vpon aduertisements or other occasions matters of great importance appeare which require hast, such matters shall be considered and determined, notwithstanding those Articles which appoint businesse for seuerall daies, so as this order be not generally or commonly broken.

Assuredly albeit the King declared both his iudgment and his diligence and care of affaires of the realme. Yet is there one rule more (and not by him neglected) for all great officers, which if it be not sufficient in it selfe to hold matters in order, yet are no rules sufficient without it.

And this is to choose persons both for ability and integrity well reputed, albeit happily they be not alwaies vsed. For besides that these will be a rule to themselves, it is a great satisfaction to the people, and keepeth them both from murmuring and curious enquiring into counsailes of State, which is neuer good and often dangerous when they know or at least suppose matters to passe vnder such mens iudgements,

In these times it was conceiued by many that by erecting

recting of a Mart in *England*, the realme would be much enriched and made more famous, and lesse obnoxious to other countries. The time was then esteemed fit by reason of the warres betwene the *Emperor* and the *French King*. The places deemed most meete were *Hull* for the east countries, and *Southampton* for the South. *London* was thought no ill place, but *Southampton* was iudged most convenient for the first beginning. This matter detained the *Lords* of the counsell in a deliberation both serious and long, with great strength and variety of reasons on both sides, which because they may giue some light to the like question, which in times ensuing may happily againe be set on foot. I will here declare them in the same manner as they were collected by the *King*.

Against the Mart these objections were made.

1 That Strangers could haue no accessse into *England* by land, which they had at *Antwerp* where the Mart then was.

2 That the ill working of *English* cloaths made them lesse esteemed abroad.

3 That the great quantity of *English* cloathes in *Flanders* would make them lesse desired from hence.

4 That the Merchants had then established their dwelling places at *Antwerp*.

5 That other Nations would forbear their resort into *England* for a while upon commandement of the *Emperor*.

6 That the deniall of the requests of the Merchants of the *Stilliard* would be a hindrance to the Mart if preuention were not used.

7 That the powerty and smalnesse of *Southampton* would be a great impediment.

8 That the *Riuer Rhene* was more commodious for *Antwerp* then any riuer was for *England*.

1 Herevnto answer was made that at the time when the Mart should beginne at *Southampton*, the *French King* and the *Almans* would stop entercourse to *Antwerp* by land, so as nothing should passe that way but in great dan-

ger. Againe as *Southampton* wanteth the commodity of acceſſe of merchandiſe by land, ſo it hath the commodity that there can be no acceſſe of enimies by land, and if warres ſhould be raiſed then the Nauie of *England* is ſufficient to defend them. And further that trafique that cometh to *Antwerp* by land is almoſt only from the *Venetians*, who may with greater eaſe, and leſſe danger transport their merchandiſes into *England* by ſea. That the ill making of cloathes was fit to be redreſſed by the Parliament, then ſitting, and the matter was then reduced to ſome ripeneſſe, the vpper houſe hauing one bill and the neither houſe another in good forwardneſſe. Neither were they ſo ill made but that the *Flemmings* did eaſily deſire them, offering rather to Pay the impoſition of the *Emperor* then to be without them.

That it were neceſſarie that the paſſage of ſhips ſhould be ſtaied vntill the Mart ſhould aduance to ſome ripeneſſe, and that cloathes ſhould be bought with the *Kinges* money and conueied to *Southampton* to be there vttered at the Mart, which ſhould helpe the inconuenience very well. That merchants neuer binde themſelues to any manſion, which either to atchieue gaine or to auoide danger they will not readily forſake, for ſo they remoued from *Bruges* to *Antwerp* only for the *Engliſh* commodities. And therefore ſeeing they ſhall haue a good commodity by coming to *Southampton*, and be rid of great feare of danger both in their liues and goods, in forſaking *Antwerp*, there is little feare that they will be curious in making the change.

That the *Emperor* was then ſo neerely driuen, that neither was he willing to attend the impeackment of the Mart, neither could he at that time doe it, for the *Flemmings* and the *Spaniards* vnder him could more hardly be without the *Engliſh*, then the *Engliſh* without them, and therefore would hardly be brought to forbear that trafique, and beſides they liued then in feare of looſing all.

That

That it were good that for the present the *Stilliard* men were generally answered, and triall made whether by any gentle offer of some part of their liberties they might be brought to ship, and their wares vnto the mart. The *French* also might easily be drawen ouer, hauing one trafique at that time but with *England*. That these two might suffice to beginne a Mart.

That the merchants would make good shift for their lodging, and it is not the ability of the place that maketh a mart, but the resort of Merchants, as *Spaniards*, *Almans*, *Italians*, *Flemmings*, *Venetians*, *Danes*, in exchanging their commodities one with another. With whom also would concur the Merchants of *London*, *Bristowe*, and other places of *England*, and some of the cloaths which should be carried thither at the first might be taken vp with the *Kings* money and there be vttered.

That *Bruges* where the Mart was before standeth not vpon the *Rheene* neither doth *Antwerp* where the Mart was then. *Frankford* doth and may well serue for a faire for high *Almaine*, but *Southampton* serueth better for all countries vpon the sea, for few of these resort to *Frankford*.

Herewith diuerse reasons were alleaged for the Mart, and namely that the vent of *English* cloathes would hereby be open in all times of warre, that the *English* merchants goods would be out of danger of strangers, and without feare of danger of arresting vpon euery light cause. That it would much enrich the Realme, because as a Market enricheth a towne, so doth a Mart enrich a Kingdome. That vpon occasion great summes of money might be borrowed of them who frequent the Mart. That the *King* might command a great number of strangers ships to serue in his warres. That warre being made all goods should be in the *Kings* danger. that the *English* should buy all things at the first hand of strangers. Wheras then the strangers sold their wares to the *Flemings*, & the *Flemings* to the *English*. That
the...

the townes towards the sea would hereby be made more populous, rich, beautifull and strong. That the merchants instead of Tapistrie, points, glasses and other laces, would then bring in bullion, and other substantiall merchandizes to haue the *English* cloath, and tinne That by this means the *English* should abate the power of their enemies, and not be enforced to borrow of Merchants but when they list, and that in no great quantity or summe.

The time was then esteemed most conuenient, because the warres betwixt the *French* and the *Emperor* caused the *Italians*, *Genowaies*, *Portugals*, and *Spaniards* to forbear their trade to *Antwerp*. The *Prussians* also and other East countries hauing 14 ships against the *Emperor* would not be very forward to aduenture thither. Again the *French* inuading *Lorraine*, and menacing *Flanders*, and the *Almaines* lying on the riuer of *Rheene*, did stop the course of merchants out of *Italie*, as well to *Frankeford* as to *Antwerp*. And further the putting of souldiers into *Antwerp* moued the Merchants to forbear their trafique, and to looke to their safety. Also the breach which a late tempest had made, was like to make the channell vncertaine, and the haven naught. Lastly the stop of the exchange to *Lyons* would make many *Flemmings* bankrupts. And because these nations cannot liue without a vent. These things decaying the Mart of *Antwerp* & *Frankeford* they would most willingly vpon erecting a free Mart resort to *England*.

And here the towne of *Southampton* was esteemed most fit because the *Spaniards*, *Brittaines*, *Gascoins*, *Lombards*, *Genowaies*, *Normans*, *Italians*, the Merchants of the East-land, the *Prussians*, *Danes*, *Swedens* & *Norwegians* might indifferently resort thither, & more easie than to *Antwerpe*. And whereas the *Flemmings* hauing few commodities haue allured Merchants by their priuiledges to settle a Mart among them, much more easly should the *English* doe it hauing both oppurtunity & meanes, as cloath, tinne, seacoale lead, bellmettall and such other commodities, as few christian

Asian countries haue the like.

Lastly the meanes to establish this mart were contriued to be these. First that the *English* merchants should forbear their resort for a mart or two beyond the seas vnder pretence of the impositions there charged vpon them. Then that proclamation should be made in diuerse parts of this Realme where Merchants chiefly resort, that there shalbe a free Mart kept at *Southampton* to beginne presently after whitfontide and to continue fise weekes, so as it should be noe hindrance to *St Iames faire* at *Bristow* nor to *Bartholomew faire* in *London*. The priuiledges of which Mart should be expressed to be these.

That all men should haue free libertie for resort and returne without arresting, except in cases of treason, murther or felony. That for the time of the Mart all men should pay but halfe the custome due in other places of the Realme. That during the time noe shipping should be made from any place betweene *Southwales* & *Essex* but only to *Southampton*. That in *Hampshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Sussex*, *Sherry*, *Kent*, *Dorsetshire*, and no bargain should be made for wares during that time but only at that Mart. That a court should be erected to punish offenders with liberties of good condition. That some one commodity as happily some one kind of cloath should be assigned as proper to the Mart. That some liberties must be giuen to the inhabitants of *Southampton* and some monies lent to them if it might be spared to beginne their Trafique. That ships should attend the safegard of Merchants so well as they could, and that if this Mart tooke good effect, another might be erected at *Hull* for the *Northeast* countries, to beginne presently after *Starbridge faire*, so as they might returne before the great Ices stopped their seas.

Thus it was concluded but the execution was for a time delaied because the wooll fleete of 60 saile, was lately before departed for *Antwerp*, & could not possibly be called backe. But to make the first preparation because a Mart

could not subsist without exchange; liberty was granted to the *English* Merchants, to exchange and rechange money for money. As vpon this occasion this profitable purpose was first delaied, so afterwards it was altogether dashed, first by the *Kinges* sicknesse, after by his death.

Now albeit the *King* was both deeply in debt, and had many extraordinary occasions, yet in regard of the troublesome times he did forbear to charge his subiects with such loanes and impositions as vsually in peace breed discontent, and in turbulent times disquiet, but he chose rather to deale with the *Foulker* in the *low Countreies* for monies vpon loane at a very high rate. And hereupon letters were directed from the *Lords* of the counsell to the *Foulker* at *Antwerp* that he had receiued from the *King* 63000 pounds *Flemmish* in Februarie, and 24000 in Aprill next before, which amounted to 87000 pounds *Flemmish*. A faire summe to be paid in one year, especially in that busy world when it was necessarie for *Princes* not to be without money. Hereupon and for that they vnderstood that at that time he was well able to forbear money, they aduised the *King* to pay to him only 5000 pounds of the 45000^l which then remained vnpaid, and to continue the rest at the vsuall yearly interest of 14^l for euery hundred, wherewith they desired him to retaine good patience. Hereto the *Foulker* answered that as he had found faire dealings before, so he would rest content to deferre payment of 30000^l so as 20000^l thereof might be well assured to be paid within some conuenient time. All this was presently agreed, and no lesse faithfully performed afterwards. And assuredly as God is the word and cannot but make good his word, so a Prince so much looseth of his dignity as hee declineth from his word.

About this time a garrison pay of 10000^l was sent to the Frontiers of *Scotland*, and the like to *Calais*, and in the same yeere 5000^l into *Ireland*, hereto if we adde the *Kings* great charges in fortification vpon both the frontiers of
Scotland

Scotland and *France* the particulars wherof I omit as matters now altogether of no use, it may easily be discerned that the hostility with *Scotland* and *France* and the incivility of *Ireland* were a great part of the cause which held this frugall *King* thus diued in debt.

And for another means of raising of many commissions went forth for selling chantry lands, and houses for payment of the *Kings* debt giuen forth to be 251000 pounds sterling at the least. Also to enquire of all Church goods either remaining in Cathedrall or parish Churches or embesled away, & namely of Jewels of gold & siluer, or siluer crosses, candlesticks, censors, challicies, ready mony, coapes and other vestiments, and reseruing to euery Church one Challice, and couering for the Communion table, the residue to be applied to the benefit of the *King*. By their sales and enquires the *Kings* wants were some what relieued. And many persons, very meane both for birth and ability of minde, and of no lesse place of employment, found means to aduance themselves to so great estate as they left their posterity ranged among the nobility of this realme.

Of these church purchasers, I haue seene many melt to nothing, and the residue shall be obserued either by riot or by improvidence to consume.

At the same time for more assured strength of the Borders vpon *Scotland* order was serled that no man in those parts should beare two offices at once, which not well obserued in later years hath much derogated both from the dignity and discharge of offices aswell in state as in some inferior places.

Another means for raising mony was practised no lesse pleasing to the people then profitable to the commonwealth, And that was by enquiring after offences of officers in great place, who as by vniust dealing they became most odious, so by iustice in their punishments, the *Prince* acquireth both loue and applause. And so one *Beaumont* M^r of the Rolles was conuined, that in his office of wardes

he had purchased lands with the *Kinges* mony, also that he had lent about 700^l of the *Kinges* mony, and forborne 11000 of the *Kinges* debts for his owne profit. Also that being M^r of the Rolles he dealt corruptly in a case betwene the *Duke of Suffolke*, and the *Lady Powes*. For he bought the *Ladies* Tithe and caused an indenture to be forged from *Charles Brandon* the *Duke* a little before deceased, purposing a grant of the lands in question from *Duke Charles* to the *Lady Powes*. Also that he had concealed the felony of his seruant, who hauing stolne from him 200^l he rooke the mony to himselfe againe. Hereupon he surrendered to the *King* all his offices, lands & goods in satisfaction aswell for the monies due by him to the *King*, as of the fines which his offences had merited, he was a man of a dull and heauy spirit, and therefore the more senselessly deuoted in his sensuall avarice.

One *Whalie* receiuer of *Yorke*shire acknowledged how he had lent the *Kinges* mony for gaine, how he euer paid one yeares reuenue with the arrerages of the yeare before, how he had bought the *Kinges* land with the *Kinges* mony, how he had made diuerse false accompts, how vpon fall of mony he borrowed diuerse summes, whereby he gained 500^l at one crying downe. For these misdemeanors he surrendered his office, and submitted himselfe to pay such fines as the *King* or his counsell should charge vpon him.

The *Lord Paget* Chancellor of the *Duchie* was conuicted that he had sold the *Kings* landes and timber woods without commission, that he had taken great fines for the *Kings* lands and applied them to his proper vse, and that he had made leases in reuerſion for more then xxi years, for these offences he surrendered his office and submitted himselfe to be fined at the pleasure of the *King*. So his fine was gessed at 6000^l whereof 2000 were remitted vpon condition that the other 4000 should be paid within the compass of that yeare.

This he endured with a manly patience as knowing right

right well that he held all the residue of his estate vpon curtesie of those who hated him at the heart. It was at the first suspected and afterwards expected by all that among other matters objected against the *Lord Paget* the chiefe or at least one should haue bene for contriuing to Banquet the *Lords* at his house, and vnder pretence thereof to take off their heads, which was the only cause for which the *Duke of Somerset* lost his head. But because no mention was made thereof, because about the same time the *Lord Gray of Wilton*, *Bannister* and *Crane*, and a little after the *Earle of Arundell* were freely discharged hauing bene imprisoned for this conspiracy, the conceit was taken that the *Dukes* head was the only aime, and that the residue were vsed but as a countenance of state to dazle the people.

Letters were sent to the gouernor of *Gernesey*, that diuine seruice should there be vsed according to the forme of the Church of *England*. A King of *Armes* named *Vlster* was newly instituted for *Ireland*, his prouince was all *Ireland*, and he was the first 4th King of *Armes*, the first herald appointed for *Ireland*.

Whilest these matters were in action the *Emperors* *Embassador* in *England* deliuered letters to the King from the Regent in the *low Countries*, importing that whereas the King was bound by a treaty betweene the *Emperor* and the Kinges Father at *Lutrecht* in the yeare 1542, that if the *low Countries* should be inuaded the King should aide him with 5000 foote, or 70 crownes a day during 4 monerhs and that this aide should be performed within one moneth after request. For so much as the *French King* inuaded *Luxembourg*, the *Emperor* required aide of the King of *England* according to the effect of that treaty.

Herevpon order was giuen that if the *Embassador* did moue for answere to this letter, he should be told by two of the counsell, that during the Kinges progresse his counsell was diuersed, whose aduice he was desirous to heare. And further that the K. had committed the same treaty to be perused by men whose iudgments as he did much re-

spect, so would he expect a time vntill their opinions might be heard. And in case that after this the *Embassador* should againe require an answer, then they should say that the King hauing lately wrestled out of most dangerous warres, wherewith his yong years were ouerburthened, he hoped well that the *Emperor* would not desire to thrust him into the like againe. That he had sworne amity with the *French King* which he could not with his honour breake, & therefore if the *Emperor* should deeme it so meete he would mediate a peace as a friend to both, which he should best effect by forbearing to vse hostility against either. And in case the *Embassador* should still perseuere to vrge the treaty they were lastly directed to answer that the King did not hold himselfe bound by that treaty, as both made by his Father and euidently preiudiciall to his realme, for albeit agreements of peace are perpetuall & bind the success, yet it is not so in agreements of society & cōfederation. And this the *Emperor* did rightwell vnderstand, for whē the King in his last warres desired to enter a new treaty with the *Emperor*, he returned answer that it should not need, for albeit the King were discharged by his Fathers death yet the *Emperor* was still bound. And againe the *Emperor* had not for his part performed the treaty, as well in hindring the carriage of horses, armor, and munition, which the King had prouided for his warres, as also in neglecting to send aide when the low *Countrie* of *Calais* was foraged, and therefore he did not iustly demand performance thereof from the King.

I know it hath beene often in like sort answered, that treaties dissolue by death of those who made them, for so the *Fidenates* held themselves discharged of the league which they had made with *Romulus* after his death. And the *Latines* did the like after the death of *Tullus*, and likewise after the death of *Ancus*. The *Etrurians* affirmed the like after the death of *Priscus*. And the *Sabines* after the death of *Sernius*. And againe after that *Tarquinius* was cast

cast out of state. I know also that the difference is great betweene a league of peace and a league of society & confederation. But I will not touch euery string of this question, which *Hottoman* calleth a noble question, and much tossed and debated, partly because it consisteth of many knotty and thorny distinctions, wherein approued authors doe not well agree, but chiefly because at this time it fell not to be a difference betweene the *Emperor* and the *King*.

For when the *Embassador* first came for answer to this letter *M^r Wotton* and *M^r Hobbie* answered according to the first branch of their instructions, wherewith he departed well satisfied for the present, and before he called for answer againe one *Stukely* arriued out of *France* and declared to the counsell how the *French King* being perswaded that *Stukely* would neuer returne into *England* because he departed without leaue vpon apprehension of the *Duke of Somerset*, his master bewraied to him that if he could procure peace with the *Emperor*, he intended to besiege *Calais* and was in hope to carry the towne by way of the sand hills, and that from thence winning rice banke he might both famish the *Towne*, and beate the market place, how he further said that he intended to land in some angle of *Scotland* about *Falmouth* because boulevarkes there might easily be wonne, and the people were for the most part *Catholiques*. And further how at the same time *Monsieur de Guise* should enter *England* by the way of *Scotland*, not only with good leaue, but with aide and conduct from the *Scots*.

Vpon this discouery the *King* assembled his counsell at *Windefor*, & entred with them into deliberation, whether it were either safe from him or to no disadvantage to rely so securely either vpon the strength or faith of *France*, as either to refuse or neglect to afford aide vnto the *Emperor*, and thereby happily incurre his hostility.

Many were of opinion that the *King* should condescend to aide the *Emperor*. First for that if the *King* were defi-

roust to hold the *Emperor* bound by the treaty made with the *Kings* father he must also be obliged thereby. Otherwise it was a lame halting league and could not possibly goe vpright. Then for that if the *Emperor* should not be aided the house of *Burgundie* was like to be deuoured, by the *French*, whereby their greatnesse might grow dreadfull especially to *England*. Then for that againe the *French* King had drawn the *Turke* into Christendome, and therefore was to be resisted as a common enemy. And further in case the *Emperor* vpon extremity should compose agreement with the *French*, the danger to *England* would be double. First vpon offence taken by the *Emperor*, then vpon the *French* Kings old disposition edged by euery new displeasure wherein the deuotion of the *Bishop* of *Rome* would not be wanting. And againe the *English* Merchants were so ill intreated in the Empire, the Realme was so much engaged in honour and in wealth as some remedy was to be sought, & none better then by giuing aide. Lastly the *French* Kings proceedings were no lesse doubtfull then fearfull, not only in regard of *Stukelies* report (not altogether to be neglected) but by reason of his breaking and firing diuers *English* ships the auncient strength and fortresses of the realme.

Others were of aduice that the *Emperors* demands of aide should be denied. First for that it would be too chargeable and almost impossible for the *English* to performe. Then for that when the *Emperor* should die the whole weight of the warre would roule vpon the *English*. And further the *Germanie* Protestants would be offended herewith, & conceiue some doubts of their owne estates. Lastly there was hope that the amity with *France* would not long continue but amend; & that the *Embassadors* then lately sent would repair all harmes done by the *French* vpon *English* ships.

Betweene both these the King stroke a midling iudgment, so to aide the *Emperor* against the *French* King as other Christian *Princes* should also adioine, and that for no other

other cause but as a common enemy for drawing the *Turkes* forces vpon them.

That hereby as the cause was common so would there be more parties to it. And this also would moderate the charge of aiding the *Emperor* according to the treaty, and whensoever the *Emperor* should die or breake off, it was likely that some of those *Princes* and parties should remaine so as the King should not stand alone. Moreover this friendship would much advance the *Kinges* other affaires in *Germany*, and finally it would be honourable to breake with the *French King* vpon this common quarrell.

Against this aduise of the King, two obiections were made, one that the treaty must be entertained with so many that it could not be speedily or secretly concluded. The other that in case the purpose should be discovered and not concluded the *French* might be prouoked thereby to practise the like confederation against the *English*.

All these the King did knit vp in this conclusion, first that the treaty should be made only with the *Emperor*, and by the *Emperors* means with other *Princes*. Secondly that the *Emperors* acceptance should be well vnderstood before any treaty were either entered or entertained against the *French*.

Herevpon letters were dispatched to Mr *Morison* the *Kinges* Embassador with the *Emperor* whereby he was directed to declare to the *Emperor* how the King touched with pittie at the invasion of Christian countries by the *Turkes*, would willingly ioin with him and other States of the Empire (in case the *Emperor* could bring it to passe) in some league against the *Turkes* and against their confederats. But caution was giuen that he should not once mention the *French King* nor answere any mention made of him, only to say that his commission extended no further. But if the *Emperor* would send a messenger into *England* he should happily know more.

Herewith and because time beateth out truth letters

were sent to Mr *Pickering* the *Kings* Embassador in *France* to know whether *Stukely* had acquainted him with any of those matters which he had disclosed in *England*. And with what familiarity the *French King* vsed him or by what other circumstances he could conceiue his report to be true: Herewith also the *Lord Gray* was chosen deputy of *Calais*, & the *Lord Wentworth* remoued as one whose youth & want of experience, was held vnfit to gouerne that charge in turbulent times. On the other side *St Nicholas Wentworth* was remoued from being Porter of the towne by reason of his old age, but had an hundred pounds yearly pension assigned him for his life. Also by abating needlesse expences to be the better enabled against charge the seuerall tables for young *Lords*, for the masters of Requests, and for Sergeants at armes were laid downe, and diuerse extraordinary allowances were taken away. And further because the *King* was to make paiement of 48000^l beyond the seas, and had but 14000^l towards the summe 300 of the chiefe Merchants aduenturers granted to him a lode of 40000^l for three moneths, to be leuied from the cloaths which they were then to transport after the rate of 20 shillings for euery cloath. But these Aduenturers went not vpon any aduenture because at that shipping 40000 broad cloaths were by them transported.

Whilest these matters were in action two Lawyers arrived in *England* with direction from the *French King* to declare what matters had beene determined against the *English* by the *French Kings* counsell, and vpon what reasons and also what matters were then depending, and what care and diligence was vsed in those dispatches. They were much commended by all for their modest behaviour, and their sweet eloquence much delighted the *King* who againe in a short speech first thanked the *French King* for his desire to giue him satisfaction, then commended them for well performing their charge, but for the substance of their businesse he referred them to *London*, where some

some of his counsell should commune thereof fully with them. Here M^r *Secretary Peeter*, and M^r *Watton*, and S^r *Thomas Smith* laid before them the grieuances of the *English* merchants, whose losses by the *French* exceeded the summe of 50000^l. To this the *Embassadors* gaue little answer, but said they would make report thereof at their returne into *France*, affirming that they had no commission but only to declare the manner and causes of iudiciall proceedings.

Presently after their returne *Mounſer Villandry* was sent againe in post to the *king* to declare vnto him that albeit M^r *Sydneies*, and M^r *Winters* matters went iustly against them, yet because they were the *Kings* seruants, and one of them in place nere his person, the *French King* was content freely to giue to M^r *Sydney* his ship and all his goods in her, and to M^r *Winter* his ship and all his owne goods. But this offer the *king* refused affirming that he required nothing freely, but expected iustice and expedition. *Villandry* shewed further that the *king* his master was desirous that the ordinances and customes of *England* and *France* touching Marine affaires might be reduced into one forme, without any difference betweene them. Whereto answer was made that the *English* ordinances for marine affaires were no other then the ciuill lawes and certaine auntient additions of the Realme, wherein they could conceiue no reason or conueniency of change, hauing long continued without reproofe. After this *Villandry* brought forth two proclamations not long before published in *France* and very aduantageable for the *English*, for the which he had a letter of thanks to the *king* his master. Lastly, which was indited the maine of his message, and whereto all other were but insinuations, he desired that certaine *Frenchmen* taken vpon the coast of *England* might be released. Hereto he receiued answer that they were Pirats, and that some of them should by iustice be punished, and some might happily by clemency

be spared, so with this dispatch he returned for *France*.

But before it was conceiued he could be fully at home he came againe to the *English* court, and there declared to the *King*, how the *King* his master would deliuer 4 ships against which iudgment had beene giuen. And that hee would appoint men of good sort and sufficiency to heare the *English* Merchants at *Paris*, and that he would alter his ordinances for marine affaires, of which emendations he then sent a copy to the *King*. The *King* appointed his Secretaries to consider therof. And after some passages of time *Villandry* had his answer. That the *King* intended not by receiuing fower ships freely to preiudice his right in the rest. That the appointing of an inferior counsell to heare Merchants at *Paris* after former tedious suits in a higher court, he thought would be but dilatory and so to little purpose, because the inferior counsell would neuer vndoe that (albeit good cause should appeare) which had bin iudged by a higher counsell. That the new ordinances he liked no better then he did the olde, and therefore desired no other then the customes which of late times had beene vsed in *France*, and then continued in force betweene *England* and the low countries. Lastly he desired no more words but deeds.

And now were letters returned from Mr. *Pickering* out of *France*, wherby he aduertised the *King* how *Stukely* neuer discouered any of those speeches to him, which since he had charged vpon the *French King*. And further that he neuer was either in credite or conuersant with the *French King* or with the Constable, nor euer resorted vnto them except once when he was interpreter betweene the Constable & certaine *English* pioners, wherfore as it was very like so did he verily belieue that as the *French King* was alwaies close & reserued amongst his best knowne friends, so would he not be open and vncircumpect to impart a matter of such import to a meere stranger and in a most vnseasonable time.

Herevpon.

Hereupon *Stukely* was examined againe, and then finding it dangerous alike to confesse a truth or stand to a lye, he became more vnconstant and variable then he was before, wherefore he was committed to the Tower, and notice was giuen to the *French Kings Embassador* of all those proceedings, to the intent that he might acquaint his master with them. Letters were also sent to the *Kings Embassador* in *France*, directing him to aduertise the *French King* of all these matters, and that for two speciall ends. One to manifest the Kings confidence in his amity with *France*, the other to bring the *French King* into suspition against all *English* fugitiues who resorted daily to his court. And so because no better person was the author, incredible fables were not belieued. But herevpon some began to discourse that the accusations against the *Duke of Somerset* were no lesse improbable, and vpon the credit of no better persons, and therefore might happily be no lesse vntrue. But the difference is great betweene both the persons, and the facts of a soueraigne Prince and of a subiect.

And now when the *French King* vnderstood aswell the imputation which *Stukely* had raised as his imprisonment. First he deeply protested his innocence in his particular and his generall sincere meaning for preserving amity with *England*. Then he much blamed *Stukelys* villany, and nolesse thanked the King aswell for that he had not afforded a credulous care to such mischeiuous deuises, wherein the tender touch of his estate might happily haue excused his error as for his Princely manner in acquainting him therewith.

On the other side when *Mr Morrison* the Kings Embassador with the *Emperor*, had opened the matters giuen him in charge, touching a league against the *Turke*, and against his confederats. The *Emperor* much thanked the King for his gentle offer, and promised to procure the *Regent* to send ouer some persons of credite to understand the Kings further meaning. Soone after *Mr Thomas Grosbham* came

from *Antwerp* into *England*, and declared to the counsell how *Monsier Lougie* the *Emperors Treasurer* in *Flanders* was sent to him from the *Regent* with a packet of letters which the *Burgundians* had intercepted in *Bullonois* sent as it was said from the *Dowager* of *Scotland*, wherein she set forth how she had imprisoned *George Paris* an *Irishman* because she vnderstood that vpon grant of his pardon he had a meaning to come into *England*, and how she had sent *Oconners sonne* into *Ireland* to giue encouragement to the *Irish Lords*. Also he shewed instructions giuen about 4 years before vpon the fall of the Admirall of *France*, to a gentleman then coming from *England*, that if any were in *England* of the Admiralls faction he should doe his best to excite a trouble.

The deputy of *Ireland* was at that time ready to transport into *England*. But vpon this aduertisement *S^r Henry Knowles* was sent in post to stay him there, yet with caution that he should pretend to stay vpon his owne occasions, and therevpon deferred his departure from weeke to weeke, least the true reason should be discerned. Letters of thanks were also sent to the *Regent* for this gentle ouerture. And the messenger was directed to vse pleasing words in the deliery of the letter, and to wish a further amity betweene the two states. And further to acquaint her with the *French Kings* practise in waging 5000 *Scottish* footmen, and 500 horsemen, & how he tooke vp 100000^l by exchange at *Lubecke*, whereby the coniecture was evident that he had some meaning against the *Emperor* in the spring then next following. Doubtlesse the aduertisement of neighbour *Princes* are alwaies much to be regarded, for that they receiue intelligence from better Authors & surer grounds then persons of inferior note and sort.

About this time one of the *Earle of Tyrones* men was committed to the tower for making an vntrue complaint against the deputy and counsell of *Ireland*. And for brut-
ing abroad how the *Duke of Northumberland* and the

Earle

Earle of Pembroke were fallen into quarrell, and one of them against the other in the field.

In *Aprill* in the 6th yeare of the raigne of the King, he fell sicke of the Measles, wherof in short time he well recovered, afterwards he sickned of the small poxe, which breaking kindly from him, was thought would proue a means to cleanse his body from such vnhealthfull humors as commonly occasion long sicknesse or death. And herof he also so perfectly recovered that in the so nmer next following he rode his progresse with greater magnificence then euer before. For whether it were to maintaine his maiesty or to manifest the feare which had beene formerly impressed, he caried with him a band of 320 men, which made vp his whole traine about the number of 4000 horse. But because this multitude was burthenesome to the Country through which he passed, which did afford little meadow or pasture, because also it seemed to bewray distrust as if the King should thinke that he rather marched among dangerous rebels then tooke his pleasure among faithfull and quiet disposed subiects, about the midst of his progresse the greatest part was discharged. For furnishing the charge of this progresse 500 pound weight of gold was coined with 1500 pounds sterling.

Soone after the King did complaine of a continuall infirmity of body, yet rather as an indisposition in health then any set sicknesse.

And about that time certaine prodigies were seene either as messengers or signes of some imminent and eminent euill. At *Middleton* eleuen miles from *Oxford* a woman brought forth a female child which had two bodies from the nauill vpward, so vnited at the nauill as when they were laid in length the one stretched directly opposite to the other, from the nauill downward it was but one, it liued weakly 18 daies, and then both bodies died together. Vpon birth of such monsters the *Grecians*, and after them the *Romans* did vse diuerse sorts of expiations, and to goe about

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about their principall citties, with many solemne ceremonies and sacrifices, supposing hereby that wrath from heauen was menaced against them. At *Quinborough* three great *Dolphins* were taken, and a few daies following at *Black-wall* sixe, which were brought to London, the least in bignesse exceeding any horse. After this, three great fishes were taken at *Gravesend* called *Whirlepooles* and drawen vpon the *Kings* bridge at *Westminster*. These accidents the more rarely they happen, the more ominous are they commonly esteemed, either because they are so indeed or because they are neuer obserued but when sad euent doe ensue.

In *Iannary* about the beginning of the 7th yeare of the *Kings* raigne his sicknesse did more apparantly shew it selfe, especially by the symptome of a tough strong streining cough. All the medicines and diet which could be prescribed together with the helpes both of his young age, and of the rising time of the yeare, were so farre either from curing or abating his grieue, that it daily encreased by dangerous degrees, & it was not only a violence of the cough thad did infect him, but therewith a weaknesse and faintnes of spirit, which shewed plainly that his vitall parts were most strongly and strangely assaulted, and the talke hereof among the people was so much the more because through an opinion obscurely raised but running as most absurd, that his sicknesse grew by a slow working poison. Vpon this cause it happened that a Parliament beginning vpon the first day of March was vpon the last of the same moneth dissolved.

And now the danger of the *Kings* sicknesse was much lamented, not only by his owne people but by strangers abroad, because his curtesy and wisdom had begot to him such loue, that he was no lesse honoured by those who heard of him, then of those who conversed with him. For he was famous in all places by reason of his foresight and iudgment in affaires, and did so well temper the greatnes
of

of his estate both with modestie and with grauitie, that he auoided enuie by the one, and contempt by the other. Some compared him with the greatest persons that had beene, both for warre and peace, because in the like pitch of yeares, none of them attained to the like perfections. Haply hee did not appere inouldierie so great, but that was because he was not so rash, being also drawne backe from his pursutes abroad by domestickall disorders and diuisions, both amongst the people and Nobilitie of his Realme; by reason whereof he scarce seemed well styled in his Chaire of Estate, and yet his fortunes went alwayes Victorious.

It hapned during his sicknesse that Doctor *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, preached before him, and in his Sermon much commended monkes of charitie, which as they were a dutie for all men to performe, so most especially for men in most especiall dignitie and place, as well in regard of their large abilities, as for that they were much obliged to giue examples of goodnesse to others: the same day after dinner the King sent for him priuately into the Gallery at *White-Hall*, caused him to sit in a chaire by him, would not permitt him to remaine vncouered, and then after courteous thanks, he reported all the principall points of his Sermon, and further added; I tooke my selfe to be especially touched by your speech, as well in regard of the abilities which God hath giuen me, as in regard of the example, which from mee hee will require, for as in the Kingdome I am next vnder God, so must I most neerely approach to him in goodnesse and in mercie, for as our miseries stand most in need from him; so are we the greatest debtors; debtors to all that are miserable and shall be the greatest accomptants of our dispensation therein. And therefore, my Lord, as you haue giuen me (I thanke you) this generall exhortation, so direct me, I intreat you, by what particular actions I may this way best discharge my dutie.

The Bishop partly astonished, and partly ouerioyed with these speeches, was stricke into a sad silence for a time, at

last teares and words breaking forth together, he declared to the King, so as he little expected such a question, so was he not furnished with a present answer, for this matter had a great mixture of a ciuill government, wherein he conceived that the Citizens of London had best experienced, as others burthened with multitudes of poore, not only of their owne, but from all parts of the Realme besides, and therefore as they best know both the qualitie of such people, and the inconueniencies which they occasion, so could they best aduise what remedies were fittest: wherefore, if the King were pleased to afford his Letters to that effect, he would confer with them, and in very short time returne with answer. The King forthwith caused his Letters to be written, and would not suffer the Bishop to depart vntill hee had signed them with his hand and Signet, and emioyned the Bishop to be the messenger, imposing great charge for expedition. The Bishop hastned with his Letters to the Lord Maior, who presently assembled certaine Aldermen, and foure and twentie Commissioners, by whose aduice the poore were cast into three companies and sort, foure were poore by impotencie of nature, as young feeble children, old decrepit persons, Idots, Cripples and such like; others are poore by fallowes, as wounded soldiers; diseased and sicke persons, and the like; the third sort are a help done by idleness or vnrithingnesse, as riotous spenders, vagabonds, toysters, lewd strumpets and their companions; thus the first of these were to be educated and maintained, the second to be cured and releued, and the third to be chastised and reduced to good order.

When this was presented to the King, he gaue to the Courtie for education and maintenance of the first sort of poore, the *Gray Friers Church* nere *Newgate* maner, with all the revenues thereto belonging; for cure and relief of the second sort, he gaue *Saint Bartholomewes* nere *Smithfeld*; for correction of the third, he appointed his house at *Bricknell*, the ancient Mansion of many *English Kings*, and which

which not long before had bene repaired and beautified by Henry the eighth, for the entertainment of the great Emperour Charles the fifth, for increase of maintenance of their places, together with the new re-edified Hospitall of Saint Thomas in Southwark, the King gave seven hundred and fifty markes yearly out of the rents of the Hospitall of Saint John Baptist, or the Savoy, with all the bedding and furniture at that time belonging to that place, and when the charter of this gift was presented unto him with a blanke space for lands to be afterwards received in Mortmain, to a yearly valew without further licence, the King presently with his owne hand filled vp the void space with these words (four thousand markes by yeare) this done with reverent gesture and speech, he thanked God for prolonging his life to finish this business, and so hec was the first Founder of those three pious workes, which by many additions are now growne to be the most absolute and famous of that kinde in Europe.

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Hereupon all persons expressed ioy in their countenance and speech, which they enlarged by telling the newes to others whom they encountered, who haply had heard it often before, and as the report increased, so therewith increased also the ioy: Thus whilst every man believed, and no man knew, it was made more credible by religious persons, who openly in Churches gave publike thanks for the Kings recovery.

But when the speech of his danger was againe renewed, and as it newes it happeneth, the more stopped, the more increased to the worke, then as if the second time he had beene lost, the people did immoderately breake forth into passions, complaining, that for this cause his two Vncles had beene taken away, for this cause the most faithfull of his Nobilitie and of his Councell were disgraced and removed from Court; this was the reason that such were placed next his person, who were most assuredly disposed either to commit or permit any mischief, that then it did appeare, that it was not vainly coniectured some yeares before by men of iudgement and fore-sight, that after *Somersets* death the King should not long enjoy his life. To qualifie these and some broader speeches, it was thought convenient that the King sometimes should shew himselfe abroad, albeit, little either with his pleasure or for his health, yet a thing which in long consuming sicknesses, euen to the last period of life, men are often able to doe.

Whilst the King remained thus grievously sicke, diuers notable mariages were solemnized at once in *Durham* place; The Lord *Gulsford*, fourth sonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*, married Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolke* eldest daughter, by *Frances* daughter to *Mary* second sister to King *Henry* the eighth: also the Earle of *Pembroke* eldest sonne married the Lady *Katherine*, the Duke of *Suffolke* eldest daughter by the said Lady *Frances*, who then was liuing: and *Marin Kaye*, Gentleman Porter, married *Anne* the third daughter of the Duke of *Suffolke*, by the said Lady

Lady Frances: lastly, the Lord *Hastings*, sonne to the Earle of *Huntington*, took to wife *Katherine* youngest daughter to the Duke of *Northumberland*; hereupon the common people vpon a disposition to interpret all *Northumberland*s actions to the worst, left nothing vnspoken which might serue to R. re their hatred against the Duke; or pitie towards the King: but the Duke was nothing moued herat, for being equally obdurate both in purpose and desire, and mounting his hopes aboue the pitch of reason, he resolved then to dissemble no longer, but began openly to play his game.

For albeit the *Lady Jane* married to his fourth sonne, had not right to the succession of the Crowne, for that shee was excluded, first, by the two Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, daughters of King *Henry* the eighth; next, by the issue of *Lady Margret* married into *Scotland*, eldest sister to King *Mary* the eighth: lastly, by her owne mother, the *Ladie Frances*, who then was liuing, yet *Northumberland*, fortissimly mad with ouer great fortune, procured the King by his Letters Patents vnder the great Seale of *England*, to appoint the *Lady Jane* to succede him in the inheritance of the Crowne; in this contriuaunce he vsed the aduice of two especially, Lord chiefe Iustice *Montague*, who drew the Letters Patents, and Secretary *Cecil*: these furnished the Parent with diuers reasons, whereof some were of Law and some of policie in State: The pretensions of Law were these, that albeit the Crowne of the Realme, by an Act of the fine and thirtieth of King *Henry* the eighth, was in default of his issue of his body, and of the body of *Edward* his sonne lawfully begotten, limited to remaine to the *Lady Mary*, his eldest daughter, and to the heires of her body lawfully begotten; and in default of such issue, the remainder thereof to the *Lady Elizabeth*, his second daughter, and to the heires of her body lawfully begotten, vnder such conditions as should be limited by the said King vnder his Letters Patents, vnder the great Seale, or by his last Will in writing, signed with his hand; yet because the said limitations were made

to persons illegitimate, both the marriages betwene King *Henry* the eighth and their severall mothers, being undone by sentences of divorce, and the severall divorcements ratified by authoritie of Parliament in the eight and thirtieth yeare of King *Henry* the eighth, which Act remained then in force, both the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth* were thereby disabled to claime the Crowne, or any honours or hereditaments as heires to King *Edward* the sixth or any other person.

And againe, the said two Ladies, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, being but of the halfe blood to King *Edward*, albeit they had beene borne in lawfull matrimony, yet by the ancient Lawes of the Realme they were not inheritable to him by descent, and had no capacitie in any degree to receiue any inheritance from him.

The reasons or pretexts of necessitie to the State were these: In case the Ladie *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth* should enioy the Crowne, they would assuredly ioyne in marriage with some stranger, who would reduce this noble and free Realme into the seruitude of the Bishop of *Rome*, and thereby bring in forren customes and Lawes, abolishing those whereupon the rights of all native subiects depend, and haply the whole body of the Realme should hereby be annexed as a member to some other greater Kingdome, to the vtter subuersion of the ancient dignitie and Estate thereof, the people were not vnlike to elect a King of some priuate Stocke, a popular and seditious man, peraduenture one who to countenance his own vnworthinesse and obscurity, would little regard what contumely he cast vpon the falling Family of the Kings before him; wherefore he held it the most prouident aduice, that the King by his authoritie should designe, not only his next Successour, but others also in reuerſion, that the Crowne might not be subiect to rising, but remaine to those whom hee loued, and who humoured him best.

These reasons did more easily sinke into the Kings iudgement,

ment, partly by meanes of the great affection which he bare to the Religion that he had established, of the charge whereof he was assuredly perswaded in case the Lady Mary his sister should succeed, and partly by reason of the entire loue hee bare to his Cousin the Ladie Jane, a woman of most rare and incomparable perfections: For besides her excellent Beautie adorned with all varietie of vertues, as a cleere skie with starres, as a princely Diadem with Jewels, shee was most deare to the King in regard both of her religion and of her education in the knowledge of the liberall Sciences, and skill in Languages, for in Theologie, in Philosophie, in all liberall Arts, in the Latine and Greeke tongues, and in the Vulgar Languages of diuers neere Nations; shee farre exceeded all of her sex, and any of her yeares, vnlesse haply the King himselfe.

Hereupon the King consented that Letters Patents should be drawne, importing that in case the King should die without issue of his bodie lawfully begotten, then the Imperiall Crowne of England and Ireland, with his title to the Crowne of France, and all things to them belonging should remaine and come to the eldest sonne of the Ladie Frances, daughter to the Ladie Mary, youngest sister to Henry the eighth, in case such issue should be borne into the world, during the life of King Edward, and after to the heires male of the said issue, and in like sort from sonne to sonne of the said Ladie Frances lawfully begotten, as they should be, in priority of birth, and borne during the Kings life, and in default of such sonnes and of heires male of every such sonne lawfully begotten, that then the said Crowne and all the prebendes should remaine and come to the Ladie Jane, eldest daughter to the said Ladie Frances, and the heires male of her lawfully begotten, and for default of such issue, the said Crowne to remaine to the Ladie Elizabeth, second daughter to the said Ladie Frances, with diuers other remainders, over which as they were vainly appointed, so are they needlesse to be repeated.

These:

These Letters were dated the one and twentie of June, in the seventh yeare of King *Edwards* raign, and by him signed when he was in great debilitie of body, and afterwards passed vnder the great Seale of *England*. And albeit the course continuance was almost visible, first for that such a co-
uision was made for the Issue male of the said Lady *Francis*, who neither at that time had any, and was commonly reputed to be past yeares of child-bearing: secondly, for that in case, that beyond the ordinary course of nature, she should conceive, the hope was desperate that the King should live vntill the birth.

Lastly, for that her children borne, and to be borne, were so carefully and orderly remembered, and no mention made of her selfe, from whom their title must be deriued, yet these Letters were subscribed by all the Priue Counsellors, the greatest part both of number and power of the Nobilitie of the Realme, the Bishops, the Kings learned Councell, and all the Iudges at the Common Law, except only Sir *Samuel Holles*, one of the Iustices of the Common Pleas, a man well observed to be both religious and vpright, who worthily refused to subscribe, and was unworthily requited by *Queene Mary* afterwards.

It is very like that some of these were guided with respect of their particular interest, for that they were possessed of diuers lands which once pertained to Monasteries, Chantries, and other religious houses, and long before dissolved; of these they held themselves in some danger to lose, in case religion should change to the ancient forme, which by succession of *Queene Mary* they did evidently foresee.

Others were drawne partly by feare, and partly by obligation to the Duke of *Northumberland*, who then was exceeding potent, and almost absolute in government of the State, and supposed able to make any title good, either by his authoritie, or by his sword.

Now whether a King may lawfully dispose by his will, or otherwise, of a Kingdome that hath bene long carried in
one

the fourth of March. January 15 that viclent storme I have already described in my History of the three Normans Kings, at the beginning of the raigie of King William the second; but certayne it is, that when kingdoms have thus suddenly beene hurried by right of succession, according to proximity of blood, the violation of which relation hath alwayes bene either very valice, or whel dangerous consequence, it hath alwayes bene like the breaking of a bank which holdeth a sheafe of arrows together: like a rupture in banks, which bindeth a river within its proper channell; or like a casting downe of a pale, wherewith deere or other beasts are inclosed. It was neuer done, but either no effect ensued, or bloudie disorders, as happily both; and the Duke by perswading his ambitious purposes with his unpoliticie, did no otherwise than offend such a foolish greedy gamster, who by stealing a card to win a stake, forfeits the whole rest.

But having thus in his owne opinion assured his owne devices, nothing remained but that the King should no longer surdine, lest haply his sickly judgement might be overruled by sounder aduice; his disease was violent, but his Physicians conceiued some hope of recovery, in case he might be removed to change of healthfull aire, which in infirmities of the vitall parts, the fear of his sicknesse, is of greatest moment for the cure.

But here the Councell would not consent, so he continued without either any sensible mending, or amping for a time. At the last a Gentlewoman, as worthy to be named, but accounted to be a scholl-mistresse for the purpose, offered her sonne as fittly qualified, in case he were committed wholly to her hand; where the Physicians would in no case assent to their aduice, because in the could give no reason, either of the nature of the disease, or of the part afflicted, so they would not declare the manner whereby they intended to worke the cure.

After some time of deliberation among the Councill, it

was resolved that the Physicians should be discharged, and she cure committed to her alone: the apparant defect both of her iudgement and experience, ioyned to the weightynesse of the adventure, caused many to murther, and some deeply to suspect that this was but an instrument of mischief: this surmise was strongly confirmed within a very short time ensuing, when the King did fall into desperate extremities, his vitall parts were mortally stuffed, which brought him to a difficultie of speech and of breath, his legs swelled, his pulse failed, his skin changed colour, and many other horrid symptoms appeared.

Then were the Physicians called againe, who spying him in that feeblefull state, departed from him with a sad silence, leaving him to the miserable mercy of neere approaching death, some of these who parted among their private friends, that they were called for fashion only, but neither their aduice nor appliances were any deale regarded, but the King had beene ill dealt with more than once, and that when by the benefit, both of his youth and of carefull meanes, there was faire means of his recovery, he was againe more strongly overlaid.

Yet as crueltie and wrong neuer stand secure, so the Duke thought one thing more expedient for assuring his designs, and that was to draw the Lady *Mary* wholly into his power: to this purpose Letters were directed to her in the Kings name from the Councell, willing her forthwith to resort to the King, as well to be a comfort to him in his sickness, as to see all matters well ordered about him; the Lady suspecting no lurking mischief, addressed her selfe with all speed to the iourney, expressing great joy, that either her company or her service, should be esteemed needfull to the King; but as she was upon the way, and within halfe a daies iourney of *London*, her foot ready to slip into the snare, shee received aduice both of the Kings desperate estate, and of the Dukes designments against her; whereupon she returned in haste to her house at *Hampton*, where in a short time shee heard

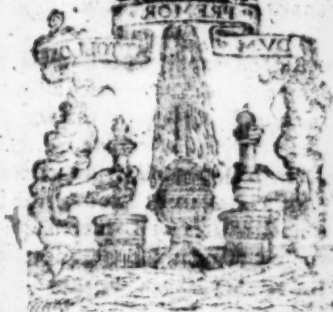
head leave to make his journey would have been to
London.

So the King being long wrastled with a lingering and tormenting sickness, at the last his spirits yielded to the malice of his disease, which he with great patience hee did endure, so with no less pietie did he end it; many fervent prayers hee made, both for himselfe and for the people of his Realme, and some when he was deemed almost past sense, and so spent his last breath in committing his sweet soule into the Almightyes hands which had created it.

He died at *Greenwich* vpon Thursday the fifth day of *July*, in the yeare 1553. and in the thirteenth yeare of his age, when he had reigned six yeares, five moneths and nine dayes; two dayes his death was concealed, to open a straight way for the Dukes crooked purposes; his body was buried vpon the ninth of *August* in the same yeare, in the Chappell of Saint *Peters Church* in *West-*
minster, and laid neere to the body of

King *Henry the seventh*, his

Grand-father.



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